

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE STRICKLAND FAMILY:
ELIZABETH, 1794-1875; AGNES, 1796-1874; JANE
MARGARET, 1800-1838; CATHARINE PARR, 1802-1899;
SUSANNA, 1803-1885; SAMUEL, 1809-1867.

by

CARL PAUL ARTHUR BALLSTADT
/

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the

University of London

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ABSTRACT

One of the prominent characteristics of the nineteenth century was the increasing importance of women in the literary world. The efforts of publishers to satisfy the demands of a growing reading public and to stimulate adult education allowed many ladies to indulge their literary ambitions. The Strickland sisters, of Reydon Hall, Suffolk, all began their literary careers by writing children's books and contributing to annuals and periodicals, especially journals for women. Two of them proceeded to pursue careers as historical biographers, and two more, after emigrating to Canada, wrote significant books on their pioneer experiences and natural history. A literary history of the family is therefore concerned with four facets of nineteenth-century literary taste: children's literature, journals for ladies, historical biography by women, and literature of the New World.

This study of the family begins with a biographical chapter which includes references to hitherto unused manuscript letters. Chapter

two is a survey of early and miscellaneous books and contributions to periodicals. The significance of Lives of the Queens of England as part of a feminist dialogue and as a book which appealed particularly to female readers is explored in chapter three. Other reasons for the work's popularity are considered in chapter four, and an appraisal of the Stricklands' biographical method and the quality of their judgement follows in chapter five. The variety of the family's literary production becomes apparent in a survey of the books written in Canada, but these contain Old World ties and a feminine perspective, in addition^{to}/indicating directions for Canadian literature.



C. Gow, 1846

Agnes Strickland
1796-1874

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PREFACE

The purpose of this literary history of the Strickland family is to indicate the nature and quality of their works and to clarify significant literary relationships and aspects of the background against which the works must be viewed. Because Lives of the Queens of England was the most popular book written by members of this family, I have devoted approximately half^{of} the thesis to its characteristics, its connection with nineteenth-century feminism, and other reasons for its fame. In order to determine which aspects of Victorian literary taste the Queens of England satisfied, I have examined the leading contemporary periodicals and London newspapers for reviews of the work written during the years of its first publication.

In an introductory biographical chapter on the family I have outlined the development of their literary careers and drawn upon hitherto unused manuscript material for new information about the Stricklands. A statement concerning this material may be found in appendix II. Many details of social life, personality, and literary acquaintanceships have

not been included here because they are dealt with in biographies of Agnes Strickland by her sister, Jane Margaret, and Dame Una Pope-Hennessy.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor James R. Sutherland, who supervised this thesis through all of its stages and made many suggestions for improvement, especially during the summer of 1964 when most of it was written. Thanks are due to the Canada Council and the Central Research Fund Committee of the University of London for grants which enabled me to do research in London, Ipswich, and Oxford. I also wish to thank my parents for encouragement and financial aid.

May 1965

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bib.Nat.	Bibliothèque Nationale
Bk.	Book
B.M.	British Museum
B.M.Add.MS.	British Museum Additional Manuscript
B.M. Eg.MS.	British Museum Egerton Manuscript
Bodl. Lib.	Bodleian Library
B.F.L.	Boston Public Library
ed.	Edited by or editor
<u>Edin.Rev.</u>	<u>Edinburgh Review</u>
<u>Eng. Cat.</u>	<u>English Catalogue</u>
f.	folio
ff.	folios
<u>Gent.Mag.</u>	<u>Gentleman's Magazine</u>
i.s.	improved series
i.s.e.	improved series enlarged
L.C.	Library of Congress
MS.	Manuscript
Nat.Lib.Scot.	National Library of Scotland
n.d.	no date
n.s.	new series
p.	page
pp.	pages
pt.	part
<u>QE.</u>	<u>Lives of the Queens of England</u>
<u>QS.</u>	<u>Lives of the Queens of Scotland</u>
T.P.L.	Toronto Public Library
vol(s).	volume(s)
trans.	translated by

In footnotes referring to books of more than one volume, I have omitted any abbreviation for volume, so that I, p.2, means volume I, page 2. In references to periodicals I have also omitted the abbreviation for page, so that I (1850), 20-5, means volume I (1850), pages 20-25.

All books cited in footnotes and in the bibliography were published in London, unless I have stated otherwise.

A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Thomas Strickland, the father of the writers with whom this history is concerned, was born in London in 1758, the descendant of a Lancashire family settled there since the time of Henry VIII.¹ As a business man he became manager of the Greenland docks in Surrey and apparently acquired sufficient wealth in this capacity to retire to the country, first at The Laurels in Thorpe, near Norwich, then at Stowe House on the banks of the Waveney, and finally at Reydon Hall, Suffolk, which he purchased in 1803.² His first wife was reputedly a grandniece of Sir Isaac Newton.³ After her death he married Elizabeth Homer in 1793 and she bore him nine children. One died in infancy; Thomas, the second son, entered the service of the East India Company; Sarah, the third daughter, married twice, but did not

¹ A pedigree of the family may be found in Maids of Honour by A.J. Green-Armytage (Edinburgh, 1906). It was compiled by Walter C. Strickland of the National Gallery of Ireland. Throughout her life Agnes claimed to be a descendant of the Stricklands of Sizergh Castle, Westmoreland, and to have distant connections with some of the queens of whom she wrote. The pedigree in Maids of Honour tells of no such connection, nor is there any indication of it in The Stricklands of Sizergh Castle (Kendal, 1908) by Daniel Scott, a book which contains family trees and pedigrees. Agnes's great grandfather was a Lancashire yeoman according to Walter Strickland.

² Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, "Biographical Sketch," Pearls and Pebbles by Catharine Parr Traill (Toronto, 1894), pp. iv-vi.

³ Ibid., p. iv. Catharine also makes use of the Newton connection in The Keepsake Guineas (1822) where she mentions a snuff box which had belonged to Sir Isaac.

share the literary inclinations of her sisters. Her first husband was Robert Childs, a neighbouring Dissenter, and her second was the Reverend Richard Gwilym of the Established Church whom she married in 1844.

Reydon Hall was situated close to the village of Southwold on the Suffolk Coast, and although the Strickland children spent most of their early years there they also had the opportunity to stay in Norwich for considerable periods. Their father became involved in another business, Thomas Strickland and Company, Coach Manufactory of St. Giles Gates, and he was forced to be in Norwich for some months each year. During these months he was accompanied by some of his children, the rest of the family remaining at Reydon Hall.⁴ The two boys attended Edward Valpy's school⁵ and the daughters had the opportunity to become acquainted with society in Norwich. Perhaps while there they were able to meet Jane and Ann Taylor who were well known for their Original Poems for Infant Minds (1804) and other books for children.

Thomas Strickland had an interest in pedagogy and derived considerable enjoyment from personal superintendence of the education of his daughters.⁶ He tutored his eldest daughters, Elizabeth and Agnes, in Latin and mathematics,

⁴ Jane Margaret Strickland, Life of Agnes Strickland (Edinburgh, 1837), p. 7. Jane Margaret says that Mr. Strickland had to reside in Norwich because of the business indiscretion of a relative, but this does not appear likely, and Mary Fitzgibbon reports that Catharine said the move was made for health reasons. His will reveals that he was a partner in the Coach Manufactory.

⁵ Edward Valpy, 1764-1832, a classical scholar, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating B.D. in 1810. He served as a master in his brother's school at Reading, and was elected master of Norwich school in 1810. The school improved under his direction.

⁶ J. Strickland, Life, pp. 4-5.

although he did not arouse the interest on their part which he hoped for,⁷ and they in turn were expected to pass on their knowledge to the younger children. The writing and reading of abstracts of selected books formed another phase of the educational programme. Mr. Strickland was the owner of a fine library of historical and antiquarian books and was able to direct his daughters to such works as Rapin's History of England (1725-31), Plutarch's Lives, Richard Knolles's General History of the Turks (1603), Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England (1702-4), and William Harrison's Description of England (1577). Familiarity with historical works is revealed in various books for children which the Strickland sisters wrote, especially several books of historical tales, and it partially accounts for the life-long interest of Agnes and Elizabeth in the subject.

Reading habits were not limited to historical matter. The girls discovered Shakespeare for themselves and were soon acting out parts of various plays. When Agnes began following the impulse to write poetry, her father referred her to Milton, Gray, and Collins. It seems the sisters also stepped themselves in Scott and Byron, for various early verses by Agnes and Susanna are modelled upon well-known poems by those authors.

Environment was probably as important as reading matter in encouraging an early taste for history. Reydon Hall was a seventeenth-century Flemish manor with many legends about it and the historical lore of the Southwold area was a fascinating subject. The Stricklands knew the story of Thomas

⁷J. Strickland, Life, p. 4, and Una Pope-Hennessy, Agnes Strickland (1940), p. 5.

Wolsey's pledge to build a bridge over Blythburgh Ford if ever he were to become rich and powerful. They knew about the battle of Southwold Bay (1672) in the time of Charles II, and they heard stories of the arrival of French émigrés on the Suffolk coast, fugitives of the French Revolution. The connection of such lore with their own surroundings and the presence of many ruins to be explored undoubtedly made the romance of history very real to them.

Another aspect of the neighbourhood that was very important to the Strickland children was the situation of Reydon in a pleasant countryside. They were fond of wild life and pets and were in the habit of walking about the lanes and meadows gathering flowers for their hortus siccus.⁸ This early interest became a lifelong pursuit with Catharine, who produced botanical studies, but it is revealed as well in children's books and in botanical articles by Elizabeth.

Living in an area which forced them to be dependent on their own family circle and not having their father constantly present to direct their education, the Strickland sisters began very early to express their interest in history, literature, and wild flowers in their own stories and verses. Catharine and Susanna were the first to begin writing, and Catharine the first to have a book published.⁹ Some months after Mr. Strickland's death

⁸Pope-Hennessy, p. 15.

⁹Fitzgibbon, pp. x-xiii. She quotes Catharine's own account of the desire to write and of how she and Susanna found paper, pens, and ink in an Indian chest in the attic. She was reprimanded by Elizabeth for spending her time writing and she destroyed all but one story which was eventually printed in Cot and Cradle Stories (1895). After her father's death, while she and Elizabeth and Agnes were residing in Norwich, she again wrote stories, this time about people she saw in the city. A collection of these was published in 1818.

in May, 1818, Mr. Morgan, the girls' guardian, took a collection of Catharine's stories to Mr. Harris, publisher in St. Paul's Churchyard, and before the year was out it was published as The Blind Highland Piper and Other Stories. She received five guineas for the book and was requested to write more children's literature. In response she produced Nursery Tales.¹⁰ Catharine's initial success inspired Agnes, Elizabeth, Susanna, and Jane Margaret, and the five of them began their writing careers with books for children.

Thomas Strickland's will, which was witnessed on 10th April, 1818, and proved on 18th January, 1819, bequeathed no money to his wife and family. He left his wife Reydon Hall, with freehold and copyhold estates from which she would receive rents and profits from the cultivation of land, a house in Norwich, and stock in the coach manufactory. It seems that immediately before his death, probably in the spring of 1818, the firm failed and he lost a considerable portion of his income.¹¹ This financial crisis contributed to his very sudden and unexpected death, and compelled Mrs. Strickland to care for her family on a very stringent budget.¹² Therefore, one of the intentions the Strickland sisters had in writing was to supplement the family income. Catharine was "grateful that she was able to help even in so small a way to eke out the now reduced income of the home."¹³ Financial necessity was to remain an important factor in their literary careers. Agnes, Elizabeth, and Jane Margaret, who never married, supported themselves by means of the pen;

¹⁰ Fitzgibbon, p. xiv. Nursery Tales has been unavailable for this study. The B.M. copy was destroyed and it is not in the collections of any of the major British libraries.

¹¹ Ibid., p. xii.

¹² J. Strickland, Life, p. 14.

¹³ Fitzgibbon, p. xv.

they were "literary women of business."¹⁴ Susanna and Catharine, although they married and emigrated to Canada, were never in prosperous circumstances and were able to increase their family incomes by writing.

Early in the 1820's Elizabeth went to London to earn her own living and she was soon followed by Agnes.¹⁵ They had two relatives in London with whom they could reside, an elderly cousin who lived in Newman Street, and Mrs. Thomas Leverton of 13 Bedford Square.¹⁶ With the aid of the elderly cousin Agnes began to study Italian and at the home of Mrs. Leverton she met Thomas Campbell, William Jordan, editor of the Literary Gazette, and John Mitford, who later edited the Gentleman's Magazine. These acquaintances soon led to the appearance of Agnes's verses in popular periodicals of the day. Being much more inclined to move in society than Elizabeth, Agnes enjoyed some association with the literary circle of Letitia Landon, Lady Morgan, Anna Jameson, and Bulwer Lytton, but the relationship was never very intimate.¹⁷ She apparently became a closer friend of the Porter sisters, Jane and Anna, Alaric Watts, the S.C. Halla, and Thomas Pringle.¹⁸ Agnes,

¹⁴"Modern Light Literature - History," Blackwood's Magazine, LXXVIII (1855), 437.

¹⁵Pope-Hennessy, p. 21. ^{Una}Pope-Hennessy does not specify the year of the first London visit, but Jane Margaret states (p.16) that Agnes met Thomas Campbell at the home of her cousin, Mrs. T. Leverton of Bedford Square. Campbell was editor of the New Monthly Magazine from 1821 to 1827; contributions by Agnes began to appear in that journal in 1823. Unsigned sonnets which may also be by her appeared in 1821.

¹⁶Mrs. Leverton's husband, Thomas, was an architect. He took part in the designing of Bedford Square and lived at no.13 from 1796-1824. He left a large sum of money to relations and friends after his death in 1824. H.M.Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects (1954). It was probably after his death that Agnes stayed frequently with her cousin whom Jane Margaret refers to as "a widowlady of fortune" (p.17). Jane Margaret also tells that the elderly bachelor cousin was an engraver of some note, but there does not appear to be any reference to him in dictionaries of engravers.

¹⁷Pope-Hennessy, p. 25-26.

¹⁸Jane Margaret quotes from letters from Agnes to Jane Porter, with whom Agnes formed a close friendship, pp. 34, 43, 183. Later in her career Agnes wrote
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and probably Eliza, continued to spend a portion of each year at Reydon Hall. The elderly cousin was a frequent summer visitor, and is referred to as the narrator of three tales of Suffolk life in Old Friends and New Acquaintances (1860, 1861).

The other girls also visited London occasionally, and Susanna, at least, managed some literary contacts of her own. She became a friend of Thomas Pringle, poet and secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, and while staying at Pringle's home in Hampstead for a few weeks in 1830¹⁹ gained some knowledge of the treatment of negroes in the West Indies and took part in the production of at least two anti-slavery publications. She was also a friend of Thomas Harral, a native of Suffolk who had connections with La Belle Assemblée, a fashionable magazine, and she corresponded for about a year with Mary Russell Mitford, the well-known author of Our Village (1824-32).

The Strickland sisters pursued writing careers with enthusiasm during the 1820's. They continued to write children's books, but the advent of the annuals in the English book market offered a wide range of outlets for aspiring young authors. Of the Stricklands, Agnes and Susanna were the most prolific contributors to annuals and Agnes edited The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1827), The Parting Gift (n.d.), and Fisher's Juvenile Scrapbook (1837-39).

(contd. from previous page)

to Monckton Milnes on behalf of Alaric Watts who was seeking a post at the London Library. In her letter she refers to Watts as "her old friend." James Pope-Hennessy, Monckton Milnes: The Flight of Youth. 1851-1885 (1951), p.64

¹⁹ The Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford, ed. the Rev. A.G. L'Estrange, 2 vols. (1832), I, p. 223.

The Raydon Hall coterie was broken in April, 1831, when Susanna married J.W.D. Moodie, Lieutenant of the 21st Fusiliers, and moved to Southwold. At Susanna's new home Catharine met a friend and fellow-officer of Mr. Moodie's, Lt. Thomas Traill, and they were married in May, 1832.²⁰ The same year both couples emigrated to Canada where half-pay officers were eligible for grants of land. Although they sent some fugitive pieces back to Britain for publication during the first few years of settlement, domestic duties required strenuous effort and their writing careers lapsed for three years.

During the early years of the 1830's the volume of writing by Agnes and Elizabeth increased. Agnes wrote three books of historical tales in addition to verse, and she continued her contributions to periodicals, while Elizabeth wrote for, and perhaps edited, the Lady's Magazine, or Mirror of Belles Lettres, Music, Fine Arts, Drama, Fashion.²¹ Jane Margaret reports in her Life of Agnes Strickland that Elizabeth edited Henry Colburn's Court Journal,²² but there is no evidence of this in the Journal itself. There is

²⁰ J.W.D. Moodie (1797-1869) was born in the Orkney Islands. He became a lieutenant of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers in 1813, and was wounded in the attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, 8 March, 1814. He was placed on half-pay in 1816 and emigrated to South Africa in 1819 where he remained for ten years. After his return to England he met Susanna Strickland at the home of Thomas Pringle. He was the author of "The Campaigns in Holland in 1814" in Memoirs of the Late War (1831), Ten Years in South Africa (1835), and Scenes and Adventures of a Soldier and Settler During Half a Century (Montreal, 1866).

Thomas Traill was also a native of Orkney and his family was connected with the Moodies by marriage as well. He had been to Balliol College, Oxford, and apparently knew many writers of the day, among them John Lockhart, Francis Jeffrey, and John Wilson, Professor of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh (Fitzgibbon, p. xvi). Traill had been married once before, but his wife died, leaving him two sons who lived in Orkney.

²¹ The Lady's Magazine had a long history. From 1770-1832 its title was The Lady's Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex. In 1832 it absorbed The Lady's Museum to become The Lady's Magazine and Museum, and in 1838 it merged with The Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée to become The Court Magazine and Monthly Critic, and Lady's Magazine and Museum, 1838-47.

²² J. Strickland, Life, p. 18. The Court Journal began in May, 1829. It was concerned chiefly with court news, fashion, and character sketches of the nobility. (Contd. on next page)

evidence, however, that Elizabeth was closely connected with the Lady's Magazine and the Court Magazine with which it merged in 1838. From 1830 to 1838 items by Elizabeth, Agnes, and Susanna appear with considerable frequency in the Lady's Magazine; although some are unsigned they can be identified by references to them which preface other signed articles. In addition Elizabeth and Agnes were the authors of at least part of a long series (forty-four in all from May, 1834, to December, 1837) of memoirs of royal ladies.²³ The exact nature of Elizabeth's connection with the magazine is uncertain, but letters to Miss Harriet Pigott²⁴ reveal that she was reviewing for it in 1840 and that she formerly held a more important post: "I have nothing to do with the choice of MSS. at present and therefore cannot give you the slightest further advice or assistance on that head."²⁵ She may have been involved in an editorial capacity during the 1830's; the number of Strickland items in the Lady's Magazine seems to support this view.

The popularity of the memoirs of royal ladies led to the decision to

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Typical titles are "Beauties of the Court of George IV," "The Royal Residences," and "Courts and Courtiers." Early issues contain some verses by Agnes.

²³ Jane Margaret again reports this series, but it did not appear in the Court Journal. That the Strickland sisters did write much of the series in the Lady's Magazine is indicated by a prefatory note to "The Duke of Exeter," XI (July, 1837), 45, in which Agnes apologizes for the delay in the completion of her "Tales of the English Chronicles," writing, "in the meanwhile we, for no better reason than the versatility of woman's will, allowed ourselves to diverge into other periods of history, whence we have drawn the portraiture of the illustrious dead, and sketched the manners and customs of ages which, we trust, were not less acceptable to the lovers of chronicle tales than were the portions of the history of the fifteenth century."

²⁴ Miss Pigott was the author of Records of Real Life, 3 vols. (1840), a work which Elizabeth reviewed in the Court Magazine.

²⁵ Bodleian Library, MS. Pigott, d.8, f. 276.

write a series of books on the queens of England. In 1837 Agnes approached the publisher Henry Colburn, who was notorious for his "puffing",²⁶ and he readily agreed to publish the proposed series, the profits to be shared with Agnes.²⁷ Colburn did not know at the time that Elizabeth was to be a collaborator on the work.

In the early stages of the series the sisters were subjected to two frustrations. They originally planned to call the series "Memoirs of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest," but when they had the first volume close to completion, Hannah Lawrence, a minor contributor to annuals and periodicals, had a two-volume work of similar title published.²⁸ The Strickland project had been advertised as early as 1837 and the discovery of a competitor was very upsetting to Agnes, but Elizabeth, who was far more stable and independent, soon convinced her that no harm had been done. Their title was then changed to Lives of the Queens of England, From the Norman Conquest and the work was resumed. But after the publication of the first two volumes in 1840, the sisters had received no financial reward for their labours, and when Colburn was pressed, the settlement he made on the volumes published seemed very inadequate considering the popularity and rapid sale of the work. Agnes again fell ill as a result of disappointment and overwork and the writing ceased in spite of Colburn's demands that it continue. Eventually he discovered that Elizabeth was involved in the project and he

²⁶ Colburn was the subject of adverse criticism and satire in various journals because of his methods. See "The Novels of the Season," Fraser's Magazine, III (Feb., 1831), 95-113; "The Dominie's Legacy," Fraser's Magazine, I (Apr., 1830), 318-335; and Harriet Martineau, Autobiography, 3 vols. (1877), II, pp. 98-9.

²⁷ A detailed account of arrangements with Colburn and of the early stages of the work is to be found in J. Strickland, Life, pp. 19-22.

²⁸ Hannah Lawrence, Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England, From the Commencement of the Twelfth Century, 2 vols. (1838-40). Miss Lawrence's volumes include queens up to Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV.

requested an interview. Before seeing him she consulted Archibald Stephens, her lawyer, who advised her that since the agreement with Colburn did not mention her she was not bound by it. With this point of argument she went to Colburn, explained the dual authorship, and told him that because the current agreement was unsatisfactory she would contribute no more lives under its terms. Colburn then offered a guaranteed sum of £150 per volume and the work was recommenced. There were three other items of some importance in the agreement: no corrections or alterations were to be made except by the Stricklands, the copyright could not be sold without their permission, and Elizabeth's name was not to appear on any of the title pages. She valued her privacy and anonymity, and, though she wrote more lives than Agnes, was content to let her sister receive both the fame and the notoriety.

In the execution of their work Agnes and Elizabeth were anxious to seek out and employ all the sources and documents they could discover. With the assistance of Henry Howard of Corby Castle and Sir George Strickland of Sizergh Castle, Westmoreland, they gained access to the State Papers Office.²⁹ They also made extensive use of the British Museum, but the search for materials carried them beyond London. Agnes wrote to M. François Guizot, French historian and statesman, for information about Margaret of Anjou and other queens who came from France.³⁰ Guizot in turn enlisted the aid of M. Jules Michelet, author of the Histoire de France (1833-67), who worked in the French archives. In 1844 the Strickland sisters visited France, met Guizot

²⁹ J. Strickland, Life, p. 27.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 44-46.

and Michelet, and gathered materials for the life of Mary of Modena.³¹

The aid of historians and antiquaries in Britain was sought. Agnes consulted Sir Archibald Alison, who frequently gave advice and reviewed Strickland works favourably in Blackwood's Magazine;³² Sir Harris Nicolas, editor of many valuable historical works and collections;³³ Henry Howard of Corby Castle, Carlisle, compiler of Memorials of the Howard Family (1834);³⁴ Sir Thomas Phillipps, collector of manuscripts and books;³⁵ and James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, noted Shakespearean scholar, who dedicated his Letters of the Kings of England (1846) to Agnes Strickland.³⁶

Collections in the hands of noble families formed another source Agnes endeavoured to explore as fully as possible. Henry Howard was helpful in arranging introductions to people who were likely to have letters and relics in ancestral homes, but Agnes wrote letters on her own behalf and also received offers from many people after the initial popularity of the Queens of England became apparent. A collection of correspondence in the Ipswich

³¹ Life, J. Strickland, pp. 113-119.

³² Archibald Alison (~~1883~~), Some Account of My Life and Writings, 2 vols. (1883), II, pp. 5-8. Alison was author of A History of Europe During the French Revolution (1833-42), and Europe From the Fall of the First to the Accession of the Third Napoleon (1852-59), and a frequent contributor to Blackwood's Magazine.

³³ Agnes Strickland, Pope-Hennessy, p. 59, and MS. 396, Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office.

³⁴ Pope-Hennessy, p. 59.

³⁵ Pope-Hennessy, p. 59, and A.L.W. Munby, The Family Affairs of Sir Thomas Phillipps (Cambridge, 1952), p. 36, and The Formation of the Phillipps Library From 1841 to 1872 (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 38-9.

³⁶ Thirty-three letters from Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland to J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps in the University of Edinburgh Library, Old College, including requests for information, comments on reviews, discussions of the Halliwell-Phillipps collection of Nursery Rhymes, and personal items such as visits. The correspondence ranges from 1840 to 1860.

and East Suffolk Record Office contains letters from the Duchess of Northumberland, the Duke of Devonshire, the Stricklands of Sizergh, the Duke of Norfolk, Lady Carlisle, and others. Agnes's friendships among the nobility and landed gentry included Lady Bedingfeld, woman of the bedchamber to Queen Adelaide; Lady Braye and her daughter, Maria Otway Cave; Lady Blantyre; Lady Matilda Maxwell; and the Craufurds of Craufurdland Castle. A list of her contacts would be very long indeed. It became customary for Agnes to make extended annual tours which included visits to the country residences of her friends, and while residing with them to carry on with her work and visit sites of historical interest.³⁷

The frequency of her visits and the tone of her letters reveal that Agnes thoroughly enjoyed her movements in society as a celebrity. She was even more delighted with the opportunity to view royal pageantry and ceremony when she attended the coronation of Queen Victoria and later was presented at court. Colburn then arranged for her to attend the wedding of the Queen and Prince Albert, so that she could give first hand reports in her Queen Victoria from Her Birth to Her Bridal (1840).³⁸

Elizabeth Strickland was much less desirous of publicity and fame than her sister. She wrote to Halliwell-Phillipps that she "hates a fuss

³⁷ Summaries of Agnes's tours and a fuller account of a number of her friends may be found in both Jane Margaret's Life and Una Pope-Hennessy's Agnes Strickland. Frequent references to her hosts and to the duration of her visits appear in her letters to the Blackwood firm, Blackwood MSS., National Library of Scotland. A list of the volumes concerned is entered in the bibliography.

³⁸ J. Strickland, Life, pp. 41-44.

beyond all mortal events" and that she disliked travelling.³⁹ She did consent to accompany Agnes on a visit to Sizergh Castle and the northern counties in 1841 and to France in 1844, but she preferred to live alone and even returned to Reydon far less frequently than Agnes. For many years during the 1840's and early 1850's she had a cottage, Avenue Lodge, Eyswater, and in late 1857 or early 1858 she moved to Tilford, Surrey, near Farnham.⁴⁰ Jane Margaret describes her as an attractive person, one who "found great pleasure in antiquarian research," and who was, apparently, more accomplished than Agnes, and very unselfish.⁴¹ The tone and content of her letters suggest a more modest and sensible person than Agnes. What is quite clear is that, since Agnes was away from London much of the time, Elizabeth did most of the basic research in the British Museum and the State Papers Office, even for the lives which Agnes wrote.

Lives of the Queens of England proved to be a very popular series.⁴²

Before it was completed, reprints and new editions were called for and were worked on simultaneously with the new volumes. The work was widely reviewed by newspapers, journals, and the leading quarterlies.

³⁹ Letters to J.O.Halliwel-Phillips, Edinburgh University Library, 26th October, 1840, and 6th August, 1843.

⁴⁰ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 4133, f. 170, 11 May, 1858.

⁴¹ J. Strickland, Life, p. 384.

⁴² The volumes were published as follows: I, January, 1840; II, March, 1840; III, August, 1840; IV, March, 1842; V, August, 1842; VI, July, 1843; VII, April, 1844; VIII, May, 1845; IX, July, 1846; X, May, 1847; XI, October, 1847; XII, March, 1848.

With the completion of the Queens of England the Strickland sisters could not rest; £150 per volume undoubtedly proved to be inadequate for living expenses. They began immediately to prepare for a series of lives of the queens of Scotland, the life of Mary Stuart to occupy the prominent place in the series. In fact they decided to omit the medieval queens and to begin with Margaret Tudor, sister to Henry VIII of England. But before proceeding^{fully} with the projected series they engaged with Colburn to bring out a revised, eight-volume edition of the Queens of England. By April, 1850, they were ready to begin negotiations for the publication of Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain.

Henry Colburn offered them £500 per volume for an edition of 4000 copies, but Agnes and Elizabeth were thoroughly dissatisfied with him.⁴³ Feeling that the new series should go to a Scottish house, Agnes wrote to John Blackwood and offered him a planned six-volume work. In doing so she expressed her dissatisfaction with Colburn, claiming he had cleared fifty thousand pounds on the various editions of the Queens of England.⁴⁴ She used its popularity as a bargaining point and asked Blackwood for £525 per volume for an edition of 5000 copies, or £400 per volume for an edition of 3000 copies.⁴⁵ An agreement based on the latter proposal was reached in June, 1850, and the first volume came out late that year. Included in the final settlement were

⁴³ Nat.Lib.Scot., MS. 4091, f. 179, 24 May, 1850.

⁴⁴ Ibid., MS. 4091, f. 175, 23 April, 1850.

⁴⁵ See cit. ibid., MS. 4091, f. 175, 23 April, 1850.

statements on the distribution of the types after the publication of each volume, and the acceptance of £100 per 1000 volumes for any further editions.⁴⁶ The first volumes were more popular than Blackwood had anticipated; a new edition of one thousand copies of volume I had to be brought out, with the result that the agreement was revised in 1853. On September 1st of that year Agnes acknowledged the receipt of £500 for four thousand copies of volume IV.⁴⁷

Throughout the 1850's Agnes spent much of her time in Scotland visiting her friends and endeavouring to explore every facet of the history of Mary, Queen of Scots. During the early years of her association with the firm, she acquired new friends in the Blackwood family, frequently visiting them in addition to discussing problems in the publication of her work. As the series progressed the problems multiplied and the friendship cooled.

One of the problems was that the series threatened to become too long for Blackwood's taste. It was concluded as an eight-volume work, but only after repeated requests and demands for compression. Agnes's replies indicate that she made superficial attempts to comply, but she wished "to have scope to prove [her] version of Queen Mary's character, and acts..." Hers was to be "an entirely new reading of her life and reign."⁴⁸ The life of Mary totals five volumes in the series.

On Agnes's part there was dissatisfaction with Blackwood's reader, with the engraver, Gourlay Steel, and with the amount of advertising the firm

⁴⁶ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 4091, f. 181, 1 June, 1850.

⁴⁷ Ibid., MS. 4103, f. 153, 1 Sept., 1853.

⁴⁸ Ibid., MS. 4107, f. 72, 10. Aug., 1854.

did. The reader was allowing too many errors to slip by and causing more work for Agnes and Elizabeth in the examination of proofs and revises.⁴⁹

In the beginning she was eminently pleased with the work of Steel on vignettes and portraits, but by October, 1856, she began to show dissatisfaction and the complaints increased as the series drew near completion. Steel was not following instructions on the composition of vignettes and he was working far too slowly. Agnes several times urged Blackwood to find someone else to do the work.⁵⁰ John Blackwood himself, however, was the subject of the most frequent complaints. Agnes objected to a lack of advertising and blamed him for what she felt was a poor sale:

I have thrice written to you, and destroyed the letters; fearing you might feel annoyed if I gave free vent to my disappointed feelings on the volumes not having entered a second edition which I attribute to the lack of advertisements in the English Papers. I don't want little puffs; but a steady course of advertisements in the Morning Post, Herald, Times.... And I assure you that even last week when I was in Norwich, I was repeatedly asked "When are we to have the second volume of the 'Queens of Scotland.'" I said "it had been out three months," and felt that no such⁵¹ doubt was ever entertained about any previous publications of mine.

The complaint was reiterated in subsequent correspondence, usually with an expression of her depression of spirits because of the public ignorance of the issue of her books.⁵²

By June, 1858, with one volume remaining to be completed, Blackwood

⁴⁹Nat.Lib.Scot., MS. 4100, f. 74, 18 July, 1852; 4103, f. 141, 23 May, 1853; 4103, f. 144, 6 July, 1853.

⁵⁰Ibid., 4120, f. 129, 3 Oct., 1856; 4133, f. 143, 6 Apr., 1858; 4133, f. 145, 5 May, 1858; 4133, f. 157, 29 July, 1858.

⁵¹Ibid., 4095, f. 267, 18. Oct., 1851.

⁵²Ibid., 4143, f. 211, 17 Mar., 1859; 4146, f. 235, 7 Jan., 1861; 4147, f. 218, 2 Apr., 1862; 4204, f. 274, 1865.

must have been saturated with Agnes's admonishments on advertising, her objections to Steel and the reader, her reminders about copies of books for her friends, and her constant offers of other works, for she mentions in one of her letters that she has written four without a reply and hopes "we are on good terms,"⁵³ and in August of the same year she has not heard from Blackwood for some time and is worried that a letter may have been lost.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, she continued to write to offer new work and to suggest an edition of Mary Stuart alone.

In spite of Agnes's confidence in the Queens of Scotland Blackwoods claimed to have suffered a loss. Agnes replied in 1865 that he had sold 27,000 volumes at 10s.6d. each and "must have netted a handsome sum"; she urged him to increase his profits by bringing out a cheap edition.⁵⁵

She viewed her life of Mary Stuart as one which would "supersede all others"⁵⁶ and her letters about it bear a tone of self-congratulatory enthusiasm:

I flatter myself that I have redeemed my pledge to the public by removing the disfiguring stains with which self interested falsehood contrived to mar Scotland's best sovereign and loveliest woman.

She will come forth now in her natural colours like a newly restored Guido or Titian that has been long disfigured with dust and injured by the interpolating hand of some base signpainter.⁵⁷

⁵³ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 4133, f. 151, 3 June, 1858.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 4133, f. 160, 31 Aug., 1858.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 4193, f. 278, 19 Oct., 1865.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 4103, f. 152, 16 Aug., 1853.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 4107, f. 66, 2 June, 1854.

Probably because of her biased stand Agnes received acclaim for her interpretations of Mary from some reviewers and from individual correspondents. She frequently received letters from admirers containing such comments as this:

Having just finished reading for the second time your admirable life of 'Mary Stuart' I cannot deny myself the gratification of expressing my thanks to you for such a triumphant vindication of her noble character, so long, so cruelly maligned! It is indeed provoking to find that arguments which cannot be answered are quietly passed over by Reviewers but truth will at last prevail....⁵⁸

Having a deep conviction that her book was needed to clear Mary's name, Agnes frequently purported to be devoted to the cause of truth and fact in history. In June, 1851, she wrote, "I hope this as a biography will turn out as well as any thing I have written, albeit the subject is a ticklish one; but I never can make a compromise with truth for the sake of pandering to vulgar prejudice."⁵⁹ In spite of her assertion she was forced by the publisher to delete some comments:

Although I am reluctant to suppress that which truth reason and moral justice impelled me to write; the which is expressed without any offensive epithets I will allow you to be the best judge of the chances of its displeasing a great many of your north British readers; and to oblige you and your brother consent to its deletion. Thus affording another instance⁶⁰ of the compromises which are made to conventionality by historians.

Unfortunately such assertions were platitudes with little or no support in fact, for on her own part Agnes played the censor of Elizabeth's work. There was not complete agreement between the sisters on the conduct of the series, and it appears that Elizabeth was the writer with greater integrity. Some letters

⁵⁸ Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office, MS. 396, letter from M.C. Seton, Randolph House, Maida Hill, 27 Nov., 1862.

⁵⁹ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS 4095, f. 249, 23 June, 1851.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 4095, f. 256, 24 July, 1851.

by Agnes reveal that Elizabeth thought her sister included too many personal observations and reflections in her writing, thus making her lives too long.⁶¹ During the same period in which Elizabeth was expressing such views, Agnes was deleting passages from her sister's work, after it had left her hands, to make the text read better, and advising Blackwood not to let her sister see the proofs.⁶² Later in the series, when they were writing the concluding volume, Agnes again made revisions because she objected to Elizabeth's desire "to pitch into John Knox" in her life of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I. She explained that her "discreet manner of dealing" was better and added, "Blunt treatment might injure sale with my Scottish friends."⁶³ "Better my sister be angry when she sees it in print than that the public be offended."⁶⁴ She justified her censorship, in one case amounting to forty or fifty pages, by saying that Elizabeth had no knowledge of the prejudices of her Scottish readers.⁶⁵ In all instances Elizabeth was not to see the proofs or revises, for she would strongly argue her point. But an undated letter shows that she did discover the changes and advised Blackwood that her work must be governed by her judgement alone since she had an equal share in the biographies. She demanded the privilege of seeing proofs and revises and affirmed her desire to do justice to the work.⁶⁶ Agnes's hypocrisy and her intense desire for

⁶¹ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS 4095, f. 249, 23 June¹⁸⁵¹; 4095, f. 246, 8 June, 1851.

⁶² Ibid., 4095, f. 252, 12 July, 1851; 4095, f. 253, 14 July, 1851.

⁶³ Ibid., 4133, f. 166, 21 Dec., 1858.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 4143, f. 205, 8 Jan., 1859.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 4727, f. 194, n.d. ~~It was written before 1858, for the letter was sent from~~

⁶⁶ Ibid., 4727, f. 254, n.d. It was written before 1858, for the letter was sent from Baywater. Eliza moved early in 1858 or late 1857.

popular approval make her somewhat less admirable than Elizabeth who did not hesitate to write a life that contradicted popular opinion as she did in her biography of Mary I of England.

A partisan defence of Mary Stuart led Agnes to challenge and sometimes be challenged briefly by well-known literary figures of the day. She accused Macaulay of plagiarizing, as she was wont to do when another writer brought out a book touching upon queens:

I verily believe if we had invented a dozen racy anecdotes he would have taken them unexamined and incorporated them into his work as original matter elicited by his own research.⁶⁷

An earlier accusation against Lord John Campbell, author of The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England (1845-69), was valid.

Agnes wrote a letter to The Times (Sept. 1, 1846) stating that he had appropriated information from her "Eleanor of Provence", among other things, without acknowledgement. A comparison of the relevant sections of the two works reveals that he had indeed plagiarized;⁶⁸ Campbell apologized for the indiscretion.⁶⁹

James Anthony Froude's interpretation of Mary, Queen of Scots, elicited a more caustic response from Agnes. She wrote of his "barefaced falsehood"⁷⁰ about Mary and referred to him as "the panegyrist of the woman-butcher, Henry VIII."⁷¹ In another letter to The Times (Jan. 2, 1864), she attacked his use of sources for Mary Stuart, but her letter provoked no reply. Charles Kingsley, who alluded to Agnes in a review of volumes VII and VIII of Froude's History of England in

⁶⁷ Nat.Lib.Scot., MS 4120, f.110, 12 June, 1856.

⁶⁸ Lord John Campbell, Lives of the Lord Chancellors, 8 vols. (1845-69), I, pp.138-43, and Agnes Strickland, Queens of England, II, pp. 76, 110, 122.

⁶⁹ J. Strickland, Life, p. 168.

⁷⁰ Nat.Lib.Scot., MS 4186, f. 38, 30 Dec., 1863.

⁷¹ Ibid., 4193, f.258, 24 Feb., 1864.

Macmillan's Magazine (1864), was "a pig of the same sty."⁷²

Still another opponent was W.M. Thackeray who, in a series of lectures on "The Four Georges" (1855-56) given in Brooklyn, United States, made mention of Agnes's work on Mary Stuart. Agnes's attention was drawn to the matter by a Scottish correspondent in July, 1856.⁷³ When she later met Thackeray at a soirée in London House she "told him 'he owed an amende to Mary Stuart and to [her] for his attack'; but he was contumacious and called [her] a romantic young woman to take the view of Mary [she] did...."⁷⁴ "The Four Georges" appeared in the Cornhill Magazine in 1860, but the comments on Queen Mary and Agnes are not very extensive nor very brutal. Thackeray was illustrating the eagerness of the public to defend the virtue of the accused heroine, such as Sophia Dorothea, consort of George I, or Mary Stuart:

Like Mary of Scotland, she finds adherents ready to conspire for her even in history, and people who have to deal with her are charmed, and fascinated, and bedevilled. How devotedly Miss Strickland has stood by Mary's innocence! Are there not scores of ladies in this audience who persist in it too?⁷⁵

With the publication of the lecture Agnes was once again provoked to vent her feelings to Blackwood, so extreme was she in her enthusiasm for Mary Stuart.⁷⁶

In May, 1857, after Henry Colburn's death, the copyright of the Queens of England was auctioned at Southgate and Barrett's rooms along with other

⁷² Nat.Lib.Scot., MS. 4186, f.38, 30 Dec., 1863. Kingsley alludes to Agnes's work in the following passage: "Certainly, it is not enough to eschew principles and theories, and write exclusively of human beings and their deeds, without a large and deep human sympathy. One has seen examples of that kind of history, which have degenerated into mere inventories of old clothes, or bills of indigestible fare; and it is not important to the human race to know the exact day on which Queen Adeliza Johanna Maud wore a green bodice over a blue kirtle, or on which Abbot Helluo de Voragine cooked five porpoises whole for a single feast." Macmillan's Magazine, IX (1863-64), 211-24.

⁷³ Nat.Lib.Scot., MS.4120, f.118, 28 July, 1856. ⁷⁴ Ibid., 4143, f.211, 17 Mar., 1859.

⁷⁵ "The Four Georges, I - George the First," Cornhill Magazine, II (1860), 1-20.

⁷⁶ Nat.Lib.Scot., MS.4154, f.145, 10 July, 1860.

Colburn holdings. Evelyn's and Pepys's Diaries were sold at £110 and £310 respectively. The Queens of England, which brought the highest price, £6,900, was sold to Kent and Company, but the Stricklands' lawyer was present and a dispute arose over the matter of abridgements.⁷⁷ One clause in the agreement with Colburn was that any revisions or abridgements were to be managed by the authors, but apparently Kent and Company wanted a revision on other terms. Presumably legal action stopped the sale and the copyright remained in the hands of John Forster, Colburn's executor. He hired Longman and Company as agents for the publication of the work on a commission basis and a library edition was brought out in 1857.⁷⁸

In March, 1859, Colburn's executor offered to sell the copyright to the Strickland sisters for five or six thousand pounds. Agnes immediately offered the copyright to Blackwood for the same sum, the sale to be conducted through her, and proposed that a revised cheaper edition be published.⁷⁹ Blackwood promptly declined this offer, and the opportunity to publish the Queens of England even if Agnes bought the copyright herself. Finally, in 1863, Agnes did make the purchase⁸⁰ and the next year completed arrangements with Ball and Daldy to bring out a six-volume cheap edition at £50 per volume for 1000 copies.⁸¹

The biographical labours of the Strickland sisters continued after the completion of the Queens of Scotland. Lives of the Bachelor Kings of England

⁷⁷ Publisher's Circular, XX (June, 1857), 229.

⁷⁸ Longman's Commission Ledger 17. The edition was kept in print until 1877.

⁷⁹ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 4143, f.213, 17 Mar., 1859.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 4186, f.41, 27 Oct., 1863.

⁸¹ Ibid., 4204, f.273, 12 July, 1865.

was published by Simpkin, Marshall and Company in 1861, Lives of the Seven Bishops by Bell and Daldy in 1866, Lives of the Tudor Princesses by Longman and Company in 1868, and Lives of the Last Four Princesses of the Royal House of Stuart by Bell and Daldy in 1872. Various editions of the Queens of England continued to appear, and a two-volume edition of the Life of Mary Queen of Scots was published in 1873.

They had plans for other projects as well. In 1858 Agnes offered Blackwood a volume on the earlier queens of Scotland,⁸² and in 1867 she proposed a biography of Cromwell.⁸³ Much earlier they had been negotiating with Richard Bentley for a series to be entitled "Lives of Royal and Celebrated Ladies" to be issued in groupings according to centuries. This was undoubtedly another outgrowth of the Lady's Magazine. Negotiations were postponed because of involvement with the Queens of Scotland, although they had already drawn up tables of contents and estimates of length for the lives of such celebrated women as Christina of Sweden, Marie Antoinette, and Catherine de Médicis.⁸⁴

In addition to continuous occupation with the biographies Agnes Strickland travelled, but less frequently as the years went on. There were the usual visits to the homes of old friends, a tour of Holland in 1869,⁸⁵ and attendance at the Scott Centenary in Edinburgh in 1871.⁸⁶ Her health rapidly declined after the publication of the Stuart Princesses as the result of a fall, and she died of apoplexy in 1874, 13 July.

⁸² Nat. Lib. Scot., MS.4133, f.166, 21 Dec., 1858. ⁸³ Ibid., 4226, f.160, 23 May, 1867.

⁸⁴ Letters in the Bentley Collection, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1853. There are six letters by Eliza, four by Agnes, and one by Jane Margaret. I have photographs of these letters and of the plans for the biographies.

⁸⁵ J. Strickland, Life, p. 341.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 355.

Elizabeth continued to work behind the scenes during the latter years, although she had no part in the Stuart Princesses. She also edited and saw through the press other books by Catharine Parr and Samuel which have Agnes's name on the title page. She died at her home in Tilford, Surrey, on 30 April, 1875.

Jane Margaret, the fourth of the Strickland sisters, was born in London in 1800. Little information is available about her. Her own Life of Agnes Strickland indicates that she remained at Heydon Hall to attend to their aging mother. After the death of Mrs. Strickland in the autumn of 1864, Jane and Agnes moved to adjoining cottages owned by Jane in Southwold. Although she remained at the family home Jane emulated her more successful sisters. She was the author of many children's books, mostly of a strongly religious character, she edited Fisher's Juvenile Scrapbook for 1849 and Sacred Minstrelsy in 1833, and she wrote her own historical work, Rome, Regal and Republican. A Family History of Rome (1854). She had plans for a four-part study, but only two were included in the first and only volume. During her last years she was occupied with the Life of her sister. She died at Southwold in 1888.

Samuel Strickland's^{only} book is a valuable account of the experiences of an early settler in Upper Canada. He emigrated in 1825 at the age of sixteen,⁸⁷ married the same year, and in the autumn bought 200 acres of land on the Otonabee River near what is now Peterborough. His first wife died and he

⁸⁷ Jane Margaret says he was seventeen when he emigrated, but the pedigree of the family indicates that he was born in 1809.

married again in 1827. The next year he was interviewed by John Galt⁸⁸ and went into the service of the Canada Company for three years, returning to the Otonabee area again in 1831. He led the Peterborough militia in defence of the government during the rebellion of 1837⁸⁹ and became commander of the local militia battalion until 1839. Until 1851 he was engaged in farming and the lumbering business, but after the death of his second wife he and a daughter visited the family at Reydou Hall. During this visit he wrote his book, Twenty Seven Years in Canada West (1853). He returned to England again in 1855 to marry a childhood acquaintance, and during the remaining twelve years in Canada he conducted a school devoted largely to agricultural training. He died in 1867.

Catharine Parr Traill and her husband, Thomas, sailed from Scotland on 7th July, 1832, and arrived in Montreal in mid-August during a cholera epidemic.⁹⁰ Catharine was stricken with the disease and they were forced to delay their journey inland for two weeks while she recovered. They arrived at the home of her brother in mid-September and lived with him until their own house, which was in the immediate area, could be completed. They moved in December, calling their home "Westove" after Mr. Traill's home in the Orkney Islands.

⁸⁸ Galt was head of the Canada Company's operations (1826-29) in the vast Huron Tract, stretching from Lake Erie to Lake Huron. After his return to Scotland he wrote two novels about settlers in the New World, Laurie Todd (1830) and Eogle Corbett (1831).

⁸⁹ The rebellion was led by Wm. Lyon Mackenzie in November, 1837. Its aim was to overthrow the Governor and Executive Council of Upper Canada and to institute a government which would be responsible to the elected representatives of the people. During the years previous to the rebellion Mackenzie had carried on the struggle for responsible government by means of his newspaper, The Colonial Advocate, and had several times been denied his place in the Legislative Assembly.

⁹⁰ The arrival of the Traills in Canada and their early movements are related in The Backwoods of Canada (1836). Details of her later life are to be found in Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon's "Biographical Sketch," in Pearls and Pebbles (1894), pp.iii-xxxiv.

During the first three years of residence in Canada Mrs. Traill wrote letters home to her family telling of her experiences and her interest in flora and fauna. These letters form her book, The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, which was published in Charles Knight's Library of Entertaining Knowledge in 1836. The book was well received by reviewers and journalists. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal reprinted extracts from the book and published a number of sketches by Mrs. Traill.

After seven years of farming at "Westove" the Traills moved to Ashburnham, now a part of Peterborough, then to various dwellings on the shores of Rice Lake, which is the setting of a novel for children. Their last home on Rice Lake was burned in 1857 along with all of their possessions; Mr. Traill's health suffered because of the loss and he died in 1859. Catharine and her family (she had nine children) went to live in the village of Lakefield, founded by her brother. There she remained for the rest of her long life, writing and doing botanical work.

Among the honours rendered to her late in her life were two financial awards given in recognition of her literary work. Lady Charlotte Greville succeeded in getting the British Government to grant her £100 out of a special fund,⁹¹ and in 1898 Sir Sandford Fleming, a Canadian, organized a testimonial fund for Mrs. Traill. Once again the British Government contributed £150 out of the Royal Bounty Fund, and donations were collected from all parts of Canada. In December, 1893, a testimonial of \$ 1000. was presented to Mrs.

⁹¹Fitzgibbon, p. xxxi.

Traill along with a statement praising her literary and scientific contribution to Canada.⁹²

Mrs. Traill did a great deal of writing through the years. During the 1840's and 1850's she contributed to periodicals in Canada. Sketches and stories by her also appeared in Sharpe's London Journal during the early 1850's. In 1852 her very popular Canadian Crusoes, A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains was published in London; there were many subsequent editions under a variety of titles. Lady Mary and Her Nurse; or, a Peep into the Canadian Forest followed in 1856. She wrote The Female Emigrant's Guide (1854), and contributed to The Canadian Settler's Guide (1855). Both were ^a useful ^{volume} for prospective immigrants, and several editions were called for. Her botanical interests yielded two books - Studies of Plant Life in Canada (1885) and Canadian Wild Flowers (1869). She was active even in her very late years, preparing Pearls and Pebbles (1894) from her notebooks, chiefly on natural history, and Cot and Cradle Stories (1895), another collection of children's stories. She died at Lakefield in August, 1899.

The Moodies and an infant daughter sailed from Scotland a week earlier than the Traills on 1st July, 1832, but they arrived later in Quebec. Their ship was becalmed off Newfoundland for three weeks and they anchored off Grosse Isle below Quebec city for another three weeks because of the cholera epidemic.⁹³ They proceeded to Upper Canada and bought a farm in a well-settled

⁹² Letters and accounts in the possession of T.R. McCloy, Calgary, Canada. Sir Sandford Fleming was an engineer, scientist, and business man. He played an important part in the building of Canadian railroads. After his retirement from Government service in 1880 he devoted himself to his own interests, including scientific problems and writing, but he was a very well-known Canadian.

⁹³ Mrs. Moodie tells of the becalming in her autobiographical novel, Flora Lyndsay, 2 vols. (1854), II, p. 71, and of the stay at Grosse Isle in Roughing It in the Bush, 2 vols. (1852), I, p. 16.

area north of Cobourg which is situated on the shore of Lake Ontario. In her book, Roughing It in the Bush, Mrs. Moodie tells of their first hard winter spent in a crude shack while their house was occupied by a "Yankee" family who refused to move. In February, 1834, the Moodies moved north to uncleared land in the township of Douro which was in the same vicinity as the land occupied by Samuel Strickland and the Traills. They began the laborious task of clearing and farming a portion of their large property; the difficulties involved, the catastrophes they faced, and their acceptance of defeat are all related in Roughing It.

Along with Lt. Traill and Samuel Strickland, Mr. Moodie went to put down the Mackenzie rebellion in 1837.⁹⁴ He was promoted to militia captain in 1838 and did not return to his home until August of that year. His army pay enabled them to liquidate some of their debts. In October, 1838, he received an appointment as paymaster of regiments in the Victoria District and in January, 1840, after Moodie had secured the post of sheriff of Hastings County, the family moved to Belleville on the Bay of Quinte.

The Moodies spent some reasonably comfortable years in Belleville when they were able to supplement Mr. Moodie's salary with payments for literary works. During the early years of settlement Susanna had sent a few poems and sketches back to England where they appeared in annuals and in the Lady's Magazine. While her husband was away during the winter of 1837-39, she resumed writing

⁹⁴ Most settlers in the backwoods, knowing nothing of the problems of government in the settled areas, were shocked by news of the rebellion and promptly responded to the call to defend the Government. In Life in the Clearings Mrs. Moodie tells of their ignorance and admits that she and her husband discovered after their move to Belleville that the rebels were provoked by serious abuses in the affairs of the colony. Ed. Robert L. McDougall (Toronto, 1959), pp. 35-6.

on a more consistent scale in response to a request for stories and poems from John Lovell, proprietor of a new Montreal periodical, the Literary Garland (1838-1851). She was one of the principal contributors to the Garland for the thirteen years of its duration; several of the sketches which form a part of Roughing It in the Bush first appeared in its pages. The Moodies themselves edited a Journal, The Victoria Magazine (1847-48), but after one year the proprietor refused to carry on and they could not afford to buy it.⁹⁵

In 1852 Richard Bentley brought out Susanna's Roughing It in the Bush, for which she was paid £50, and since it was well received by the public he was willing to publish more of her work. A sequel, Life in the Clearings, followed in 1853, giving an account of society in the towns of Canada West. Several novels, some of which had appeared in serial form in periodicals, were also published: Mark Hurdlestone, The Gold Worshipper (1853), Flora Lyndsay (1854), The Monctons (1856), and The World Before Them (1868). Matrimonial Speculations, three shorter tales recalling incidents Susanna had observed in Suffolk, appeared in 1854. Richard Bentley's Copyright Book, and letters in the Bentley Papers reveal that these books by Susanna and several items published in Bentley's Miscellany brought her £280.⁹⁶ Together with what she received from American editions of some of her books, the sum would have been a very significant supplement to the family income. But by 1865 they were in financial difficulties. A letter to Richard Bentley by Mrs. Moodie reveals that her husband had been retired as sheriff and had been unable to secure any other

⁹⁵Susanna Moodie, Introduction, Mark Hurdlestone, 2 vols. (1853), pp.xviii-xix.

⁹⁶B.M. Add. MS. 46,676, f.11, and 46,642, f.112, 21 July, 1856.

post. They were left without a home through the action of an unscrupulous son, and Mrs. Moodie was having difficulty in selling her writing.⁹⁷

Mr. Moodie's health was in decline in 1865 and he died in 1869. After his death Susanna moved to Toronto where she resided with one of her daughters until her death in 1895. In spite of the problems she and her husband had encountered and the work involved in raising a family of seven children, she produced the best writing done by a member of the Strickland family. Two of her books have recently been published in new editions in Canada.

⁹⁷B.M. Add. MS, 46,653, ff.260-63.

CHAPTER II

In Quest of Literary Careers

It was observed in the previous chapter that several factors encouraged the early wishes of the Strickland sisters to become writers. Their father wanted them to become knowledgable young ladies able to converse intelligently with men, they had access to a fine library, they were fascinated by the historical lore of their region, and they were interested observers of the contemporary inhabitants of rural and seacoast villages and of the natural history of the area. The sisters read and admired the works of such female authors as Anna Maria and Jane Porter, Maria Edgeworth, and Mrs. Inchbald,¹ successful women whom they could emulate by beginning to write romances and stories for children. Such factors combined to inspire some youthful attempts to compose tales and poems, but it was after the death of Thomas Strickland that the unexpected publication of Catharine's first children's book² and the pressure of financial difficulties spurred them to greater efforts in the field of juvenile literature.

Perhaps with the exception of Catharine, the Strickland sisters did not produce any significant innovations in the history of children's literature

¹Jane Margaret, Life, p. 6.

²The publication was arranged by Mr. Morgan, her guardian, without her knowledge.

although they wrote much.³ A survey of their work shows that they learned lessons about the composition of books for juveniles from such predecessors as Sarah Fielding, Sarah Trimmer, Thomas Day, and Maria Edgeworth,⁴ but upon most occasions they made disappointing applications of the methods they could glean from the works of those authors.

In books for children written by Mrs. Trimmer, Mr. Day, and Miss Edgeworth some degree of intellectual, moral, or spiritual instruction was an essential part of the work. In Sarah Trimmer's Fabulous Histories (1786), for example, the child is presented with moral lessons and information on natural history in a story that is designed to amuse him as well. A combination of aims is common in children's books by the Stricklands, but in order to simplify a survey of their work it may conveniently be considered under five categories - the moral tale, natural history and the moral lesson, the religious story, the historical tale, and verse.

A discussion of the moral tale may begin with Catharine's first book, The Blind Highland Piper, and Other Tales (1818). This slim volume employs the device of the wise parent who guides and informs his or her children. The appearance of such a figure in English children's literature is generally

³ An examination of such bibliographies as the English Catalogue, the Publisher's Circular, and the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books (1958) reveals that the Stricklands wrote over 60 books for children. Not all appear to have survived, however. Fifty-two of their children's books have been examined for this thesis in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Toronto Public Library.

⁴ Maria Edgeworth and her father and Thomas Day were the principal exponents of Rousseau's ideas in the realm of children's literature, although Day was much more vehement and rigid in his application than the Edgeworths were. Maria Edgeworth's The Parent's Assistant (1796-1801), Early Lessons (1801) and Moral Tales (1801), and Day's Sandford and Merton (1783-89) had a very great effect on the production of children's literature in the early nineteenth century. Many other eighteenth-century books were significant in the determination of trends and types; Sarah Fielding's The Governess (1745) and Sarah Trimmer's Fabulous Histories (1786) were two of them.

credited to the influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau's Émile (1762). The guardian or personal teacher was employed by Sarah Trimmer, Thomas Day, and Maria Edgeworth, all leading figures in the development of children's literature in England. In Mrs. Traill's book a diverse series of stories and sketches is linked together by incidents in the life of the Dormer family. Some of the incidents lead to the relation of a tale or information on natural history by Mrs. Dormer, while others constitute stories in themselves. Two of the longest sections of the book are stories told by Mrs. Dormer for the moral instruction of her children.

"The Blind Highland Piper" reveals the good deeds and misdeeds of Stanley Percy. Stanley receives an invitation from his Uncle to accompany him to the bookseller's shop if he can finish his copy before 1:30 p.m. In order to achieve this goal Stanley sets the clock back ten minutes and successfully deceives his Uncle. At the bookseller's, while suffering torment of conscience, Stanley has compassion on a little girl, Flora, and her father, a blind piper who has been forced to sell his pipes. The boy gives up a half-guinea which has sentimental value, but he tells no one of his deed. Upon returning home, he resolves to tell his Uncle of his deceit concerning the clock, and, while he is left alone to reflect on his sin, Flora and her father come along and the whole story of Stanley's generosity is revealed to Mr. Percy whose admiration of his nephew is shown by a hearty handshake and the gift of two books. The lessons in this tale are made very explicit; wasting time and deception are followed by suffering, a good deed by happiness. "The Little Water Carrier," the other moral tale in the book, stresses the

rewards of goodness and industry.

Another of Catharine's books, Reformation, or The Cousins (1819), is typical of many Victorian children's books in that it reveals the influence of Thomas Day's Sandford and Merton (1783-86-89) by contrasting two boys in order to present desired lessons. In Reformation Mrs. Traill presents the bright, neat, and proud Starling in opposition to the indolent, seemingly backward, but generous and honest Clement Mowbray. While the boys are on a fishing excursion Starling acts imperiously and brutally toward Clement, but unknown to him his actions are witnessed by Mr. Bedford. Later in the day Clement helps a stranger to pull a lamb out of a ditch and in the process dirties his clothes. Starling accuses him before their guardian of having fallen into the ditch and Clement's denial of the accusation is rejected. He is judged and punished by confinement to the house for one week. The next day Mr. Bedford, a friend of the family, comes by and reveals Starling's brutal conduct of the previous day. Starling is called for, but at that moment he is busy intercepting the lad whom Clement had aided. Clement's goodness is revealed and Starling falls into disgrace, but he is forgiven and both boys resolve to change. By the Christmas vacation Starling is noble and tolerant, and Clement is industrious, bright, and neat. The alterations in character are, of course, too arbitrary, and the conversation of the boys is excessively formal:

"Take care, Cousin Starling, what you are about; you have struck me once today, but you shall not with impunity a second time"; and he surveyed Starling resolutely. ...

But the actions of the two boys on the fishing trip and the easy-going character

of Clement resemble the behaviour of real boys.

The Keepsake Guinea; or the Best Use of Money (1823) and Amendment; or, Charles Grant and His Sister (1823) are two more tales by Catharine which contrast two boys and trace the reformation of one. The aim of The Keepsake Guinea is to encourage prudence and charity in the use of money; to illustrate these virtues the author contrasts a thrifty and prudent boy, Arthur, and a spendthrift and foolish lad, Robert. Moralising in this story is frequent and repetitious, but two adventures in which the boys are involved, one with a galanty* showman and another with a group of street musicians, are scenes which would interest young readers because the boys are behaving as boys do, rather than discussing ethical behaviour and admonishing one another. Amendment is the story of Charles Grant, the proud, imperious, and stubborn son of a gentleman, who behaves badly toward Giles Bloomfield, a neighbouring poor boy. The financial ruin of Charles's father and the dispersion of his family gives Giles the opportunity to aid charitably the now humbled Charles and to effect his transformation to a useful, industrious, and tolerant boy. There is a total lack of artistic integrity in the story, as in many early nineteenth-century children's books. Romance and didacticism demand a happy ending and Charles is raised to his former social level at the end of the story, bringing his friend Giles along with him.

Both Agnes and Jane Margaret wrote books in which characters are contrasted and reformation is effected. Agnes's The Rival Crusoes or The

* a shadow pantomime

Shipwreck (1826) shows which qualities of character are more valuable when Lord Robert - wealthy, overbearing, and pompous - and Philip Hurley - a carpenter's son, industrious and skilful, but quick-tempered - are marooned on an uninhabited island. Philip, of course, gets on more successfully, but the adventure brings out Robert's essential goodness and makes Philip less pugnacious. Jane Margaret's story of contrast is National Prejudice; or, The French Prisoner of War (1828) which illustrates the mischievous effects of prejudice against foreigners. The stories by Agnes and Jane are alike in some features of style: the speech of the characters is affected and formal, epithets are used to excess, and many sentimental scenes are presented in which characters fall insensible.

Bound up with The Rival Crusoes are two other tales by Agnes, "A Voyage to Norway" and "The Fisherman's Cottage." Both are founded on some degree of fact and are about Suffolk coast people. "A Voyage to Norway" is the better of the two, for it is an informative and entertaining story, it has suspense and adventure, its central character is a more convincing boy than the heroes of many other Strickland stories, and the moral lesson is not obtrusive here.

Many of Susanna Moodie's moral tales apparently have not survived as well as books by her sisters,⁵ but two of them which are available are about children who have flaws in character which lead to the injury of other persons,

⁵I have not been able to locate the following books by Susanna - Profession and Principle (1833), Rowland Massingham (1837), The Little Black Pony and Other Stories (1850), Scartacus, A Roman Story (1882), Precept and Practice; or The Vicar's Tales (probably the same as Profession and Principle), The Little Quaker (n.d.), and Something More About the Soldier's Orphan (1853).

and who are the subjects of experiences or punishments which help them to change their ways. In The Little Prisoner, or Passion and Patience (1828) Ferdinand's unsatisfactory upbringing by a nurse who permits fits of violent temper to go unchecked leads to incidents which necessitate his imprisonment in a room until he resolves to exercise control. When he later injures the gardener's boy, who was tormenting a robin, Ferdinand is chastized, but also duly commended for his concern for the bird. Happy Because Good (1859), another of Susanna's books, contains some short sketches and a story entitled "The Blind Brother and the Kind Sister" which is much like The Little Prisoner.

A more interesting and significant group of books by the Stricklands treats the subject of colour prejudice and slavery. Jane Margaret's The Planter's Daughter, and Her Slave (1820) touches on the subject in the violence of Helen Dornier towards her slave, Lola, but the story concentrates on the redemption of Helen from the paths of pride, selfishness, and godlessness, a redemption in which Lola plays a part when she unexpectedly comes upon Helen fallen from her lofty station and in distress. The subjects receive a fuller treatment, however, by Catharine in Prejudice Reproved; or, The History of the Negro Toy-Seller (1826). The story is founded on fact as she reports in her Introduction:

The principal events in the following little tale were related to me by a very intelligent negro, who told his artless story with so much simplicity and feeling, without appearing to bear any hatred to the cruel author of his sufferings, that I was induced to give his narrative to the public, in the humble hope that it might excite an interest in the hearts of my youthful readers for the persecuted and suffering sons of Africa; and if I have failed in my intention, I can only say, I wish they could have heard Ocitychee relate the story himself.

Prejudice Reproved shows how Edward Greville's treatment of the toy-seller is corrected by his cousin, Richard, who quotes passages from James Montgomery's West Indies to illustrate his points, and by the story Octychee tells of his treatment by a Spanish master on the island of St. Domingo. The incidents which brought about his freedom and his journey to England reveal that Octychee is a brave and kind man, as well as one who is able to forgive Edward his cruel behaviour. Some attempt is made by Catharine to produce the broken English of the negro but the result is not very convincing. Useful knowledge is added to the ethical purpose by quotations from Encyclopaedia Britannica on the island of St. Domingo, and by reference to Thomas Clarkson's History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade (1803).

Susanna was even more interested in the anti-slavery movement. During the winter of 1830 she stayed at the home of Thomas Pringle in London.⁶ Pringle was Secretary of the Anti-Slavery League from 1827 and the author of several books, probably the best known of which was African Sketches (1834). During her residence with the Pringles Susanna met several negroes and aided in the production of two publications brought out in 1831. The books were not intended especially for children, but they are miscellaneous ethical works and they mark the beginning of a strong humanitarian feeling which is exhibited in many of the later writings by Susanna. The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself (1831) was written down by Susanna as Mary Prince narrated it.

⁶ A.C. L'Estrange, ed., The Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford as Recorded in Letters from her Literary Correspondents, 2 vols. (1882), I, p.223.

Susanna then pruned the manuscript and prepared it for publication, according to Thomas Pringle's Preface to the volume.⁷ Mary's story would evoke pity in most readers, for it reveals great brutality and inhumanity.⁸

Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, A Native of St. Vincent (1831) is the other book written down by Susanna. In an eleven-page introduction to the story she tells of her own indifference to the evils of slavery before she had the opportunity to meet and to listen to former slaves tell about their lives:

I beheld slavery unfold in all its revolting details.... I resolved no longer to be an accomplice in its criminality; though it were only by keeping silence regarding it. Thinking that the same means which had operated so effectively upon my own mind might produce a favourable result in other persons who had been accustomed to view the case in the same careless and prejudiced manner, it occurred to me that I might publish, with some small advantage to the cause, the following little history, taken down from the narration of a young negro, who had recently made his escape from slavery in the West Indies, and had come over to England on purpose to establish his claims to freedom.⁹

The narrative gives a concise life history of Ashton Warner with many details of plantation life - the housing, the working conditions, the food, the punishments administered by some of the masters. To make the story more effective Susanna frequently employs Warner's own language, and she is more successful at rendering the dialect than is Catharine.¹⁰

⁷ Proof of Susanna's part in the work may be found in her autobiographical novel Flora Lindsay, 2 vols. (1854), I, p. 215-17.

⁸ A supplement to the narrative tells of the efforts to obtain Mary's freedom and of her engagement as a domestic servant in Pringle's household in December, 1829.

⁹ Introduction, Negro Slavery (1831), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰ The production of the two narratives has some significance in Susanna's development as a writer. She was a careful observer of people, and both in England and in Canada she wrote sketches of unusual characters. It was on such occasions, when she kept her eye on the object she was presenting and recreated the dialect and odd experiences of the person that her best and most realistic writing was done.

All of the books discussed above are calculated to illustrate right conduct to the youth of England, most of them by showing the consequences of good or bad actions. In all cases the selfish and violent child reforms and his basic goodness is revealed; perhaps this is another indication of Rousseau's influence on English children's literature. Many other books by the Stricklands combined natural history and the moral lesson. Information about flowers and wild life or other phenomena could entertain and instruct children, and frequently they could learn a lesson in conduct by studying the life-history of an animal or observing the marvels of nature.

Elizabeth Strickland appears to have been the author of only one book for children, Disobedience, or, Mind What Mama Says (1819), the plot revealing the disastrous effects of disobedience. Harry, who persists in escaping from his home-grounds to play on the river bank, is drowned, and Charles, the brother who accompanies him in all pursuits, has a narrow escape. Once again the story is founded on fact; Eliza was staying with the family concerned at the time of the tragedy. But the most interesting and effective part of the book is about natural history, not behaviour. Harry discovers a hermit crab and brings it to Eliza who begins to tell what she knows about the creature in response to the child's questions. One wishes Eliza had written more often for children because her style is more restrained and simple than that used by her sisters in any of their books:

They all sat down immediately by me, on that ridge of stones called the high water mark, whilst I told them the history of this curious little animal.

The creature you hold in your hand Harry, is called the soldier or hermit crab, because some people think it lives like a soldier in a tent, and some like a hermit in a cell. The reason is lives in a

shell belonging to another fish, is because its own shell is very soft behind, and it wants some other defence against its enemies. When it is quite small, it creeps into a little periwinkle shell, and when it grows too big for that, it gets a larger, till it will even fill a whelk shell, which is like the one you have in your hand.
(pp. 15-16)

One of the most successful children's books written by a Strickland was undoubtedly Catharine's Adventures of Little Downy; or, The History of a Field Mouse. A Moral Tale (1822). It was brought out in many editions in the nineteenth century. Once again the wise parent instructs the eager child, and it is all done with considerable skill here. The story of Downy is told to Alfred by his mother when he shows an inordinate desire to kill a mouse which had been invading the cupboards. Little Downy is endowed with some human feelings and thoughts in order to make it easier for Mrs. Clifford to evoke a little sympathy in Alfred. At several points in the story she is able to draw attention to the similarity of Alfred's conduct to the mouse's, thus to teach such lessons as the bad effects of indolence and idleness, the results of disobedience, and the desirability of a generous humanity in the treatment of animals which are struggling for food and life. Mrs. Clifford makes her lessons more effective by breaking her narrative at crises, when Alfred's sympathy is fully aroused, to give him an opportunity to reflect on the dangers of the mouse's life and to stimulate his curiosity about its fate. Alfred causes her to pause in the narrative and to make digressions when he wishes to know more about some aspect of the mouse's life or about one of its enemies. In this way the reader is given information on the habits, habitat, and appearance of animals and birds that come into contact with the mouse. Two of the incidents in which Little Downy is involved are related by Catharine as actual occurrences in her later and more factual book, Narratives of Nature,

in which she also presents a chapter on the amusing habits of Dornice she had kept in cages. The most natural and appealing ^{parts of} the tale are those describing the appearance and movements of animals. With any discussion of moral behaviour Catharine lapses into the use of stock phrases, but her style in this story is mostly simple and economic:

One fine evening, as she was returning to her house, she saw a creature much like a weasel, only somewhat smaller, which she knew to be a mousehunt, by what she had heard of them: he was prowling along close by her tree, in hopes of catching her; he smelt about for some time, and at last went in.

Poor little Downy was in a sad fright; she knew not what to do, for she saw his head peeping out of her hole, and his cunning black eyes prying in every direction. ¹¹

Mrs. Traill had some predecessors in this type of animal story. Sarah Trimmer's Fabulous Histories (1786) was an obvious model for Mrs. Traill since it also endeavours to teach lessons in industry, generosity, and alertness, as well as to arouse proper attitudes towards animals by showing the reader a family of robins which, unlike Mrs. Traill's mice, talk to one another and reveal human character traits. Mrs. Traill's book is much more authentic in the presentation of ^{the} behaviour of animals. Dorothy Kilner's Life and Perambulation of a Mouse (1775) is another possible model, but again there are differences. In Kilner's story the mouse is the reporter of its own life-history and its actions are like human actions. In Mrs. Traill's book the mouse is observed and its actions discussed by Alfred and his mother in order to draw conclusions that might also be true for human beings.

One of Jane Margaret's books, Christmas Holidays; or, A New Way of Spending Them (1864), belongs in the category of natural history and the moral

¹¹ Adventures of Little Downy the Field Mouse (1844), pp. 23-24.

lesson. In a brief Preface she urges young people to avoid spending holidays in "idle dissipation" when they may be spent with amusement in the investigation of common objects in one's surroundings. The book consists of fifteen chapters presenting various adventures from which the children derive moral and natural instruction, mostly under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. Beverly. There is a great stress on useful knowledge, feminine employments, charity, and obedience, and the children make discoveries about the development of trade, shells and sea anemones, amber, and a number of pets.¹²

Three other early books by Catharine contain some moral instruction, but the emphasis is upon fact and the detailed observation of nature. Sketches from Nature, or, Hints to Juvenile Naturalists (1830) is reprinted entirely in Narratives of Nature, and History Book for Young Naturalists [1831] to which several new sketches are added. The Preface to Narratives of Nature comments on the amusement and useful knowledge to be gained from the study of nature. The writer says that fiction can pervert the judgement and "superstition, credulity, and a love of falsehood are by degrees established in the infant mind" (p. v), but the study of nature effects no such perversion. Instead it helps to develop the reasoning powers and frequently provides examples of industry which the child might emulate. But the most important benefit of nature-study, and this is Catharine's constant theme, is that the child discovers that every work of nature "bears in it the impress of a divine original" and teaches something of the power and majesty of God. With this theme

¹²The Moss House (1822), The Use of Sight (1824), and The Youthful Travellers (1823) are reported by The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books 1566-1910 (Toronto Public Library, 1958) to be by Agnes. All three are intended to amuse and instruct. They range widely in subject-matter from an account of the Laplanders to the tanning of leather.

frequently made explicit for the reader, her book presents chapters on beetles and spiders, bees, squirrels, dormice, doves, rabbits, and pigeons, but it also contains discussions of some of nature's oddities and some of the works of man. For some of her sketches the author draws upon Encyclopædia Britannica, Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's Letters From An American Farmer (1782), and Buffon's Natural History of Birds, Fish, Insects and Reptiles (5 vols., 1793). It is, however, in sketches of her own observations of wild life and domestic animals in Suffolk that the reader finds clear description and genuinely entertaining anecdotes for children. Some sketches of Suffolk local colour are similar to those found in Mary Russell Mitford's Our Villages (1824-32). Such is a section of ten pages in Chapter VII of Narratives of Nature wherein Catharine tells her readers of a local shepherd and his dog, Snow, and their idyllic life in the Suffolk countryside.

The Young Emigrants; or Pictures of Canada (1826) is Mrs. Traill's most original early book, for in it she anticipates Frederick Marryat's The Settlers in Canada (1844)¹³ and other books about the New World which followed later in the century. She was also, in effect, preparing herself for the time when she would have to share a decision such as that made by the characters in her book, but when she wrote it she was already acquainted with families which had emigrated from Suffolk, and her own brother, Samuel, had gone to Canada in the previous year. Catharine's book is a compilation of information received from these emigrants and information discovered in books of travels

¹³ Marryat's book is a more romantic treatment of the subject. The plot develops more slowly, a variety of characters is presented, and the emphasis is upon adventure. Mrs. Traill is more concerned with facts and descriptions than with plot and character.

such as John Howison's Sketches of Upper Canada (1821).

The Young Emigrants tells the story of a Suffolk family forced to emigrate because the father has lost his government position and feels he can better support his family in Canada by returning to the land. His son, the moralist in the book, is very eager and makes many speeches about useful employment, individual accomplishment, and the decadent effects of luxurious living. He persuades his sisters that emigration will be a good thing and resolves to learn as much as he can of practical affairs and agriculture while still in England. He and his eldest sister visit a local farm for some weeks and become "willing and virtuous pupils of industry and independence" (p.25). In the spring the family departs for Canada and letters are sent home to an ill sister who remains behind to convalesce. The reader follows the fortunes of the family through their arrival, the voyage up the St. Lawrence to York, and the long process of settling. Scattered throughout the book are descriptions of scenery, Indians, wildlife, towns, and seasons, and comments on transportation, servants, differences in language, food preparation, and winter activities. The book is, in fact, a guide to the New World for young persons. Added to the useful knowledge are such maxims as "What cannot man effect by industry and ingenuity, if the Almighty...is pleased to give His blessing upon the labour of their hands?" (p. 63) and "Depend upon it, when the hands are usefully employed, the heart is far from evil" (p. 80). Once more Mrs. Traill has fulfilled the dual purpose of much Victorian fiction for the young, to amuse and instruct, and she has shown a timely interest in emigration which probably aided her own adjustment to the New World.

Jane Margaret and Agnes, the two sisters who dominate the category of the religious story in the Strickland literary history, did not produce books as simple and appealing as those by Catharine and Eliza in the category of natural history. The religious stories are characterized by circumlocution, an excessively sentimental and metaphorical style, and an emphasis upon holy living and happy dying.

Tales of the School-Room [1835] by Agnes is modelled on Sarah Fielding's The Governess or the Little Female Academy (1745) and Mrs. Leicester's School (1809) by Mary and Charles Lamb. In the latter two books each pupil narrates her life-history, but Agnes varies this procedure by having each of her young ladies tell a story for the "edification and amusement" of her companions. The first part of each story builds up a situation which is resolved in the concluding pages by a religious lesson. For example, in "The Gipsy" [sic] a girl rejects belief in the prophecies of gipsies, of which all her companions are convinced, and she is ostracized for her stand. When her coach is overturned during a journey, she fears that a particular prophecy has come true, but her mother calms her and convinces her that only God is omniscient and that the gipsies say things which are ambiguous.

"Le Bas Bleu" is the most interesting tale in the collection because it deals with what is required of the literary lady. It appears to be partially autobiographical, for in it Miss Evelina R- tells of a father's education of his daughters which corresponds very closely to the situation in the Strickland household. He requires his daughters to write extracts of books from his library, he directs their taste in poetry, and he urges the study of Latin and

Greek, for "Papa approved of educating girls upon the same plan as boys, because he thought it strengthened the female mind; and I have heard him say, that few ladies in the present day know how to converse rationally, because they have been taught in a superficial manner" (p. 166). Thus it is that Evelina begins to neglect female accomplishments and tends to become an untidy person. She is convinced of the error of her ways by a cousin who is both learned and domestically efficient. The cousin mentions the case of Elizabeth Carter, writer of A Life of Fricetetus (1758), who was also skilled in drawing, music, and needlework, the traditional feminine accomplishments, and she employs the religious argument as well: "a constant attention to the work^{with} which God entrusts us, is the greatest mark of solid piety" (p. 187).

The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not; or Cabinet of Entertainment and Instruction (1827) is a collection of stories and verses together with some sketches on aspects of natural history.¹⁴ The stories endeavour to teach the way of piety by drawing upon the language of the Bible, and by presenting many tender scenes of parting and suffering such as this passage from "The Orphan Brother and Sister":

"Oh, Emily! dear sister Emily!" said Josiah, raising his streaming eyes to the pale face of his sorrowing sister, "what shall we do without dear papa? who will feed and clothe us, and take care of us, now he is gone?"

"Even He, my brother, who clothes the lilies of the field, and feedeth the young ravens when they call upon Him," replied Emily, struggling to overcome the grief which almost choked her utterance, that she might console her young brother.¹⁵

¹⁴ Susanna Moodie attributes this volume to Catharine in a letter to M.R. Mitford, Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford, I, pp. 212-13. It is possible that some of her sisters took part in the composition of the volume, especially the verses, for Catharine seldom wrote in verse. The passages of natural history are of a very factual kind on such subjects as the white ant, paper, and the leaf-cutter bee; they are similar to some of the passages written by Catharine for Narratives of Nature.

¹⁵ "The Orphan Brother and Sister," Juvenile Forget-Me-Not (1827), pp. 72-91.

The verse in The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not and the contents of A Visit to the Banks of Jordan (1834), edited by Agnes, are similar in tone to the passage quoted above. The items are mostly concerned with death-bed scenes and the last words of young children, much the same as those which may be found in the pages of the Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle.

Alda, the British Captive (1841), the only book-length religious story by Agnes, tells of an early Briton who is taken to Rome as a slave and becomes a Christian convert, eventually to die a martyr's death. The plot is tedious, but the story has some significance because a feminine ideal is presented. Susanna, one of the characters, is an eastern girl of great learning, deep reflection, benevolence, and religious sensibility. One of Jane Margaret's religious books, Ellen Cleveland; or, The Young Samaritan. A Tale of the Pestilence (1834), also shows "a bright example of feminine benevolence and humanity" (p. iv). Jane was the author of at least eight religious tales;¹⁶ they all dwell upon long-suffering and conversion and they bear the usual stylistic flaws.

Many of Susanna's verses and works of fiction strongly emphasize religious themes and lessons. Hugh Latimer; or, The School-Boy's Friendship (1823) teaches the Christian principles of forgiveness and humility. Hugh, a boy of low birth, constantly keeps Christ's humble origin in mind and readily forgives boys who offend him at school because of his social status.

¹⁶The others are: Moral Lessons and Stories from the Proverbs of Solomon (1820), The Village Flower, or Sunday Teacher and Sunday Scholar, and Lady Mary and Her Gipsy Maid (1833), Edward Evelyn (1843), The Spanish Conscript (1846), Adonijah: A Tale of the Jewish Dispersion (1856), Blind Arthur and Other Stories (1860), and The Orphan Captive, or Christian Endurance (n.d.).

The story is unnecessarily lengthened by three digressions, all teaching the same lesson as the main plot, and the language of the boys is extremely stiff. The book is not, however, as morbid as George Leatrim; or, The Mother's Test (1875), which relates the unjust punishment of a son by his proud, clergyman father and then traces the rapid declines and death-bed scenes of son and mother. Dr. Leatrim becomes a humble man, mostly devoted to fasting and prayer, especially on the anniversary of the death of his family.

The Stricklands were fervent and evangelical in their religious and moral attitudes, as their books for children indicate. In the early days at Reydon they went to hear the Congregational minister at Wrentham preach, and Susanna at least was impressed to the extent that she signed her name in the "Church Book" as a member in 1830.¹⁷ Religious thoughts were never far out of mind during the composition of their various books and they frequently become evident in themes and reflective passages.

In the late 1820's and early 1830's Agnes's early study of history and her reading of the poems and romances of Sir Walter Scott began to bear fruit. Her intense interest in the past was first expressed in verse, but she abandoned that form in favour of prose tales and one three-volume romance. These in turn were supplanted by historical biography. She found a receptive reading public for her work in the wake of Scott's popularity.

Historical Tales of Illustrious British Children (1833) was Agnes's first prose effort to make history a more appealing subject to children. In her Preface she complains that "a barren chronology of monarchical successions,

¹⁷ Miss F. Foster, "Agnes Strickland and the Southwold Neighbourhood," The Story of Southwold, ed. Janet Becker (Southwold, 1948), p. 143-46.

bloody wars, and dry political intrigues, comprise, generally speaking, the contents of historical works prepared for the use of schools, from which the reluctant student turns with weariness and distaste" (p. iv). She proceeds to state her own purpose:

It is the object of the present work to offer to the young a series of moral and instructive tales, each founded on some striking authentic fact in the annals of their own country, in which royal and distinguished children were engaged; and in which it is the author's wish to convey, in a pleasing form, useful and entertaining information illustrative of the manners, customs, and costume of the era connected with the events of every story....(p. v)

In each of the tales one finds some well-known historical figure involved, although not necessarily as the child-hero. Thus the reader is presented in "The Judgement of Sir Thomas More" with the development of an incident reported in Cressacre More's Life of Sir Thomas More (1726) in which Dorothy, a girl who is forced to beg to support her blind grandmother, finds her lost dog, Constant, in the possession of Lady More. She implores Sir Thomas More to judge the case and the final decision is made by having each of the claimants call the dog. Another story summarizes Thomas Wolsey's early life, his struggle for an education, and his vow to build a bridge over the river Elithe in Suffolk if ever he should become powerful and wealthy. It is in such a story that one sees the seed of Agnes's interest in biography, for it is a brief chapter in the life of Wolsey. In addition, historical summaries provided at the end of the book are biographical sketches of the historical personages involved.¹⁸

¹⁸The other stories involve Cuthred, a governor of Northumbria, in "Cuthred, The Widow's Slave," Edward the Atheling in "The Royal Chase of Wareham," William Rufus and his brothers in "The Sons of the Conqueror," Edward V and Richard of York in "The Royal Brothers," and Mary II in "Lady Lucy's Petition to the Queen."

These stories are of better quality than the moral and religious tales which Agnes wrote. The moral lesson is still set before the reader - in Wolsey's case a boy of mean birth attains a notable position through industry and diligence - and the expressions of piety are still obtrusive, but they are less frequent. In most of the tales suspense is created, more natural emotions of children are presented, and the reader is introduced to important historical figures.

Tales and Stories from History (1836) has much the same purpose as the above volume, except that the author adds that she wishes "to supersede the use of many of the silly and pernicious fictions which have hitherto, unfortunately, constituted too large a proportion of the books provided for the use of young people" (p. iv).

The best stories in this collection are traditional ones. A brief life history of Alfred the Great is given, with the central incident being his stay with the Heatherd and the peripheral matter an account of battles with the Danes. "The Wolf Tribute" centres on the famous rowing tribute to King Edgar by eight other Saxon kings. It is interestingly related and has some exciting action which children would appreciate, but it also provides a sketch of the structure of society in pre-Norman days. William Tell's struggle against the Austrians contains romantic events, including the apple-shooting incident, but the reader discovers considerable historical background in the process.¹⁹

¹⁹ Other tales are - vol. I, "Prince Eladud," "The Slave of Auvergne," "Bela the Blind," "Prince Edwin and His Page," vol. II, "The Funeral of the Conqueror," "The Young Interpreter," "The Lord of Bramba," "The Widow of Bruges," and "Queen Margaret and the Robber of Hexham."

A reflection of the optimistic and complacent attitude of some Victorians is provided by several of these tales and by stories by Jane Margaret. One of the lessons presented is contentment with one's lot. "The Slave of Auvergne" knows that in spite of his forlorn condition he must submit "with patient meekness, to the hardships of his bitter bondage" (p.33). In "The Wolf Tribute" Agnes writes a fuller statement of this theme with an application to her time which reveals her ignorance of suffering and the conditions of the poor:

We certainly have much better laws and customs in our own days; for no man, be he ever so great, has any power over the other person or property of another; and the poorest peasant is a free man, and can buy and sell anything he has, without asking anyone's leave. Every sincere lover of his country ought to see that it is his duty to assist in preserving the present order of things, which is so admirably suited for the happiness and well being of all ranks of people. (pp. 256-7)

The Pilgrims of Walsingham; or, Tales of the Middle Ages. An Historical Romance (1835) in three volumes is modelled on Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. It is set in the year 1522 when Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, visited the court of Henry VIII of England hoping to form an alliance by being betrothed to Henry's daughter, Mary. Court entertainments prevent any close conversation with King Henry in which a treaty could be formed, and Charles conceives the plan of undertaking a pilgrimage, incognito, to Walsingham, the most celebrated shrine of the time. He enlists the aid of Queen Catherine and Anne Boleyn and indirectly gets Henry to express a desire to make a pilgrimage. The group includes the King and the Emperor, Catherine and Anne, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Charles Brandon and Mary Tudor, and Cardinal Wolsey. The first day's journey takes the pilgrims to St. Christopher's Oar, the Chesterford

Ferry House, where the narration of tales begins in order to while away the time.

In the introductory chapters the portraits of the characters are similar to those which Agnes was to produce later in Lives of the Queens of England (1840-43). Henry is quick-tempered, loud, blustery, and given to oaths and crudeness; Catherine is conscious of Henry's cooling affection, but she is a pious, faithful, and accomplished wife; Anne Boleyn is flirtatious, ambitious, fickle, and vain; Wyatt is hopelessly in love with Anne and jealous when she shows signs of being attached to the King; Wolsey is a shrewd counsellor, well aware of Henry's shifting moods.

The best of the narratives is a two-part tale, "The Gothic Count," and "Don Froila and His Ten Daughters," told by Queen Catherine and Charles V. It is about a Spanish count of the 8th century, during the conflict with the Moors, and is obviously directed at Henry, for Don Froila is a choleric, blustery type who, after years of courageous crusading against the Moors, marries a virtuous and pious wife and then longs over-much for a son and heir. Instead his wife gives birth to ten daughters, and seven years after the birth of the last daughter she gives him a son at the expense of her own life. At this point there is a break in the narrative, a great deal of banter about wives, and a statement by Henry that he feels the tale is directed at him. Charles opposes the King's view and continues the story.

The remainder of the tale involves the encounter of some of Froila's daughters with a wounded Moor, Abdalix, whom they nurse back to health, and the surreptitious arrangements of one of Don Froila's enemies to have his ten daughters included in a peace tribute to the Moors. The girls are introduced

into Abdalaz's harem and are freed only on the agreement that Christina, the eldest, will become his wife. Christina, who had been in declining health and spirits, expires on the day following her wedding, after her sisters have been freed.

The story is predominantly a light romance with some elements of the Gothic tale included; the exotic setting in the castle of Sansuenna, the weird and terrible night on which Don Froila's son is born, and the dream which warns him of the abduction of his daughters and the death of his son are essentially Gothic. But most of the tale is light-hearted and there are some humorous touches in the actions of Don Froila and in the romantic affairs of some of his daughters. Both this tale and the following, "The Royal Sisters" (the daughters of Edward IV, whom Henry VII confines to Havering Bower), embody many features of the romance - virtuous young ladies, rescues, Moors, the supernatural, loves won by heroism, stock scenes in which gallant men throw themselves at the feet of fair maidens, and attempts at archaic language.²⁰ One suspects that much of the dialogue is the result of Agnes's reading of Shakespeare and Scott:

"How now, sirrah!" cried the King, giving way to passion, "you do deal in more riddles than the Sphinx, and this last one seems a passing insolent one withal." (p. 224)

.

"Fie upon such unkindly remembrance...." (p. 274)

"Passing excellent," "forsooth," "Es to," "Marry come up," and other such expressions occur frequently.²¹

²⁰The volumes also contain "The Saxon Widow's Vow," "William Rufus and the Salmon Pasty," and "The Christian Gladiators." Historical notes are provided to give the factual background for each narrative and information is given about the Shrine of Walsingham from A History of Norfolk, 2 vols. (1806).

²¹Gothic characteristics appear in two more books by Agnes, The Broken Heart and The Bridal (1835) and How Will It End? (1865). The former book contains two stories, the first being a tale of the Spanish Inquisition. An evil cousin reports that Count Albert is a heretic, Albert mysteriously disappears, Don Gusman inherits his estate, and attempts to supplant Albert in the affections of Donna
(continued on next page)

Agnes's debt to Shakspere is even more apparent in an unpublished play, "The Queen's Tragedy," which she submitted to the Blackwood firm. The plot concerns the fall of Catherine Howard who, in the play, is both a victim of the schemes of men, and an example of a person who must pay for an early indiscretion.

She is treated as a puppet by her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and is forced to play a part in a "cold pageantry" by being married to a King she does not love. Norfolk uses Catherine to gain power for himself; he compels her to beseech the King to carry out the execution of Thomas Cromwell, which is pending and is being opposed by Archbishop Cranmer and protestant forces. True to Agnes's view of history, King Henry orders the execution as a sign of his love for Catherine, saying, "Thy voice alone did turn the scale against him."

Catherine is also true to form, for she is in a dilemma and it is only self-preservation that induces her to speak the part Norfolk demands. She suffers remorse because the act is unfeminine:

When you require me to depart so far
From a Queen's wifely duty, as to seek
To warp the royal judgement in a case
Where he already hath avowed dissent;
And in a matter too of life and death.
When he inclines to mercy, shall it be
That I, forgetting Woman's attribute
Of pity and compassion for the wretched,
Step forth like a relentless fiend, and steel
His noble heart against her gentle pleading?

(continued from previous page)

Maria, but he is constantly rejected. One of the crises of the tale is a visit by Donna Maria to the cave of the magician Rodrigo, hoping to discover the fate of Albert. The next day he appears in a procession of heretics on the way to execution, and Donna Maria dies of a broken heart. "The Bridal" is a romance of eastern Europe concerning the change in the fortune of Matthias from prison to the throne of Hungary.

The source of Norfolk's power over Catherine is his knowledge of her indiscreet affair with Francis Durham ten years previous to the action of the play. Should this affair be revealed to the jealous King, Catherine would meet the same fate as Anne Boleyn. But Durham, recently returned to London after ten years as a seafarer, uses the same knowledge to gain a position in the Queen's household and to threaten to expose Norfolk for having deceived the King about Catherine's purity. The play is didactic, for it shows how an early indiscretion leads to others and eventually involves several people. In the fifth act Cranmer and his party succeed in exposing the various intrigues to the King and thus bring about the ruin of Catherine, Durham, and a number of minor characters.

To use Agnes's own phrase, the play is "cold pageantry." The dialogue, stiff and hackneyed, is used to inform rather than to trace the development of conflicts. Three times in the play the author must resort to the device of the concealed character, overhearing another person state very relevant attitudes, in each case drawn out by the questions of a third party. As one would expect, there are also soliloquies, extended similes and metaphors, and passages of description which, in this case, are quite irrelevant to the action.

> Agnes's major romance, How Will It End?, was published by Richard Bentley in 1865. It is a three-volume work which Jane Margaret says the author began early in her writing career but left incomplete until after her successes with the lives of queens. The romance is set in the Lake District during the civil war, and some of the characters and incidents are based on fact.

Agnes seems to have drawn information from The History and Antiquities

of the Counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland (1777). A section of this book tells about two of the principal characters, Colonel Briggs and Robert Philipson, the former an officer in Cromwell's army, the latter in that of Charles I. According to the History Colonel Briggs besieged the Philipson island, Long Holme, in Lake Windermere, for eight or ten days, until Philipson was relieved by an elder brother. Robert Philipson, commonly known at the time as "Robin the Devil," attempted to retaliate the next day by riding into the church at Kendal in search of Briggs who happened to be absent. The History also presents descriptions of Calgarth Hall, the setting for much of the action, and Long Holme and St. Mary Holme Islands, both important localities in the romance.²² Agnes makes use of these incidents and descriptions, but she alters circumstances considerably and adds much that is entirely fictional.

In the romance Briggs and Philipson have a long-standing dispute about the ownership of Calgarth Hall, the traditional seat of the Philipson family. Briggs has obtained possession of the Hall by means of an illegal will and with a strong garrison has been able to defend it against Philipson. The dispute becomes more hostile with the arrival at Calgarth of Althea Woodville, Briggs's cousin and ward, and the beloved of Philipson. Althea's mother died on the journey to Calgarth and her will left Althea under Briggs's guardianship until she should become of age. Althea also made a death-bed promise to her mother that she would not marry without Briggs's consent. The plot of the romance is based on this promise and on a false sense of morality on Althea's part.

²² Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burr, The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, 2 vols. (1777), I, pp. 184-87, and William Gilpin, Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, 2 vols. (1836), I, pp. 139-41.

Shortly after her arrival at Calgarth she is abducted by Major Philipson, whom she has known for a few weeks, and is taken to Long Holme Island where she plights her troth to her captor. It is during Althea's residence on Long Holme that Briggs besieges the island for eight days until he is successfully driven off by Philipson and his men. The next day the attack is carried to Calgarth and Philipson is captured. Althea returns to Calgarth to plead for his life and her petition is granted on the condition that she renounce Philipson and agree to marry Briggs.

The novel is drawn out by several futile attempts by Briggs to effect the marriage, and by the interference of the civil war, both Briggs and Philipson being called away to fight for their respective armies. More than once Althea has opportunities to flee with Philipson and marry him, but she will not break her extorted promise to Briggs and so condemn herself to eternal damnation. She insists on respecting her mother's last wish even though it could mean a life of misery for her. It is this refusal, based upon a false sense of propriety, that allows the romance to be extended to three volumes. At one point Althea even attempts to commit suicide by throwing herself into Lake Windermere in order to avoid marriage to Briggs, surely an odd course of action for one so scrupulous about right and wrong.

Eventually Briggs attempts to marry Althea in Carlisle Cathedral and it is at this point that Philipson's church episode is employed. He rides at full speed down the Cathedral aisle and is unhorsed, but when all the candles suddenly go out, he regains his saddle and escapes. In the confusion the minister also flees, not wishing to officiate at the marriage of an unwilling bride. Shortly after this incident Philipson and his men capture Briggs on

the journey back to Calgarth and force him to consent to the marriage of Althea and Philipson. This extorted approval satisfies Althea and she and Philipson quickly return to take possession of Calgarth Hall.

The romance reveals evidence of the influence of Sir Walter Scott and the Gothic novel of the late eighteenth century. Scott's Woodstock; or, The Cavalier (1826) involves the appearances of ghosts, the work of the Cavaliers, with the intention to frighten off the Parliamentary commissioners. Agnes employs the mysterious appearances and disappearances of a pair of skulls intended to haunt and disturb Colonel Briggs in Calgarth Hall. The author suggests that these appearances are arranged by an agent for Philipson, Joseph Foxcraft, the butler in the Briggs' household. The plot also bears some similarity to Scott's Peveril of the Peak (1822) which is based on a conflict between two families, the Cavalier Peverils and the Puritan Bridgenorths. The heroine of Scott's novel is in danger of suffering an ill fate when she is entrusted to the care of Edward Christian, Bridgenorth's brother-in-law. She is rescued by a woman named Fanella, a member of the household of one of Charles II's ministers. Agnes's heroine receives aid from a woman named Herab, the "Witch of Windermere."

In addition to these indications of influence on the plot, How Will It End? embodies other romance characteristics for which Agnes was probably indebted to Scott and Gothic novelists such as Mrs. Anne Radcliffe. Herab, the Witch of Windermere, makes sudden and mysterious appearances in unusual places. She makes prophecies about Althea and they come true, she causes the lights to go out in Carlisle Cathedral after Philipson has been unhorsed, and immediately before the capture of Briggs it is she who causes the Puritan columns to halt in a narrow valley by standing on a rock beside the road and remaining unharmed

amid a volley of bullets. The book is also marked by sudden and daring rescues by the hero, a portrayal of Briggs as a ruthless, greedy and hypocritical villain, swoonings by the heroine, abduction, and attempted suicide. Descriptions of dress, rooms, and scenes are very prominent, and the author attempts to render her accounts of the latter two features with a frightening and ominous aspect in the Gothic manner:

The moon had now risen, broad and watery, in a cloudy sky, lending a wild melancholy grandeur to the scene, and exaggerating the dark shadows of the gaunt figures of the troopers, who rose on either side of the coach into giant-like proportions, especially that of Colonel Briggs, who, pike in hand, rode singly before the cortège, and for a time gave proof by his warnings to Antipope and the postilion that he had not overrated his local knowledge and powers of observation.

(I, pp. 159-60)

In spite of Agnes's attempt to produce a genuine historical romance by basing her story on real characters and incidents, and by imitating other romance writers in the use of stock situations and descriptions, she fails to give the reader a real sense of the past or to produce interesting and convincing characters. The meetings of Althea and Philipson, of which there are several, generally consist of insipid and redundant conversations with speeches such as the following:

"Wretch that I am!" cried Philipson, throwing himself at her feet. "It is for my sake that you have involved yourself in this hideous destiny, yet I selfishly think only of mine own woe. Forgive my madness, Althea, yet hear me urge but one word more."

(II, pp. 195-6)

The emotional responses of her characters are described in excessively sentimental terms intended to render the book elegant:

Althea's bosom heaved convulsively, her lip quivered, and tears stole silently from under her long dark lashes. The door was opened by a hurried hand, Philipson entered, rushed to her, snatched her to his heart, and kissed the bright drops from her cheek.

(III, p. 269)

Although the main characters are weak, the author is a little more successful with some of the minor figures because she endeavours to reproduce the dialects of people living in Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Scotland. Of the three she is most successful with the dialect of the Scottish soldiers in Carlisle:

"Now, doctor, ye maun do your best to mak' these twa folk man and wife, and the right honourable bridegroom, Colonel Briggs, o' Calgarth, will ensure yer pardon and release, with leave to gang home to yer puir wife and bairns. His honour will give ye good largesse of broad-pieces, but an' ye boggle at the job, or mak' skippages o' the hard words ... I shall only have to give the word to the godly men-at-arms, an' thoy'll haul ye forth by your hempen necklace, and hang ye up on the tallest tree in the Close, to scare the craws." (III, pp. 159-60)

Agnes must be given some credit for her attempt to provide an authentic setting for the tedious plot. She had visited the areas in which the action takes place and she writes from personal knowledge of the Morecambe Bay sands, the situation of Calgarth on the shores of Windermere, and the various villages in the region. But apart from ^{inserting} ~~the use of~~ place-names she fails to make full use of her knowledge and too often resorts to vague terms such as those found in this passage on the view from Calgarth:

Calgarth Hall fronts the lake of Windermere, and commands an extensive prospect of the high Furness Fells on the opposite shore, in all their varied forms of fantastic grandeur - the wild, the wondrous, and sublime. Down the lake it looks to the picturesque group of isles which gem the breast of Windermere, and upwards to the sea of mountains beyond Ambleside, Rydal, and Crassmere. (I, p. 224)

The romance was an attempt to extend the range of her popularity late in her career by producing light fiction. Although the work was started in the early years, Agnes no doubt wished to make use of a geographical area with which she became acquainted during her search for biographical materials.

and to carry her views of the civil war period into fiction. All of the common people are decidedly in favour of the Cavaliers, and even the puritan household of Calgarth Hall is happy to be freed from the tyranny of Colonel Briggs.

Jane Margaret reports in her Life of Agnes Strickland that Agnes's early interest in history was accompanied by an intense fondness for poetry, and that at the age of twelve she attempted her first poetical composition on Euron Bigod, an early historical figure. When the poem was brought to her father for appraisal "he pronounced it to be deficient in originality and merit, and advised her to give up verse-making till she was better acquainted with fine English poetry" (p. 4). Her first published verse was a "Monody Upon the Death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales" which appeared in the Norwich Mercury in 1817 (p. 8). Before her father's death in May, 1818, she had a longer poem completed, Worcester Field; or, The Cavalier, a metrical romance set in the civil war period. Early plans to have the poem published failed when the publisher went bankrupt and the sheets of Worcester Field were seized among his other possessions, but the book was eventually brought out by subscription in 1826.²³

The romance is in the manner of Scott's Harmon (1803), but it lacks the descriptive power of Scott and his sense of place and time. There is no originality in diction, figurative language, or action in Agnes's poem, and the rhythm is very mechanical. A passage on De Lacy, the hero and spirit of Cavalier loyalty, is representative of her poetic ability:

²³Jane Margaret, Life, p. 14.

His lofty spirit rushed!
 And then, as if the victor soul
 Contemned the body's weak control,
 While from his eyes dark lightnings broke,
 He looked around and sternly spoke:
 'Now, regicides! prepare the doom
 Which gives me to a hero's tomb,
 And, unbent by coward fear,
 Will live and die a Cavalier!
 And glorying in that deathless name,
 I leave my cause to God and Fame!
 True to the altar and the crown,
 My soul is firm though fortune frown....(p. 108-9)

This is spoken after the battle of Worcester in which the Cavaliers have been defeated and De Lacy captured, but he is granted a reprieve and rejoins his beloved Clara when Bevil, a Roundhead leader, turns out to be the long lost son of Lady Howbray, a Cavalier supporter.

The Seven Ages of Woman, and Other Poems (1827) is a more significant volume in the Strickland literary history because it presents an early, though not very comprehensive, statement of some principal Victorian feminine ideals.²⁴ The author very rapidly traces the activities and emotions of a woman's life, presumably as she feels they ought to be. In the second age "the book, the pen, the needle, all engage," but it is in the fourth, as a wife, that her important functions begin:

...she makes his home a haven;
 His nurse in sickness, and his joy in health,
 His aid in poverty, his pride in wealth;
 Her heart the solace where his wounded mind
 Flies for relief, and finds it ever kind,

 Though storms without on every side increase,
 They cannot mine the house of love and peace,
 Which on the rock of duty firmly stands,
 While strife and folly perish on the sands. (p.6)

²⁴ The subject is discussed more fully in a later section concerning the Lady's Magazine and in a chapter on the Queens of England. Agnes is presenting very briefly here ideas similar to those found in Ruskin's Sesame and Lilies (1865) and Coventry Patmore's Angel in the House (1854-56).

In the fifth age she becomes mother and teacher, and the sixth and seventh ages see her peaceful decline.

The Seven Ages of Woman contains forty shorter poems, including five on historical subjects which are reprinted in Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies (1850), and seven sonnets translated from the Italian of such writers as Bernardo Tasso and Petrarch. Many of the poems included in the volume had already appeared or were to appear in periodicals and annuals. They are characterized by sentimentality and by banality of tone and diction.

Demetrius: A Tale of Modern Greece: In Three Cantos: With Other Poems (1833) is another metrical romance, this time written in octosyllabic couplets interspersed with several songs in the manner of Byron's "Destruction of Sennacherib":

From the land of thy birth the dark shadows have past,
And thy light, lovely Freedom, dawns brightly at last;
It smiles on the mountain, the valley, and plain,
For Greece has awakened to glory again! (p. 97)

Sentiments are expressed about the influence of woman, patriotism, and long suffering, the latter induced by a strict sense of propriety. Ismena would rather spend her life in a convent cell than have Demetrius marry her while his father disapproves. The romance concentrates on emotional scenes between Demetrius and Ismena in which they carry on long dialogues on duty, freedom, and devotion.

Floral Sketches, Fables, and Other Poems (1836) includes Agnes's most successful verses. In this volume she has her eye on natural objects and not on sentimental scenes and historical events, although there is still a profusion of hackneyed expressions in some poems - "barren wild," "cultured spot,"

"reckless glance," "rugged path," and "velvet lawn." The volume is intended for children and in the Preface one finds the inevitable intention to convey "moral instruction." Added to this is the desire to incline young minds to the observation of the beauty of nature and an awareness of "nature's God." The first section of the volume presents many of the flowers and plants the Strickland sisters became acquainted with in their wanderings about Reydon Hall.

The best of the "Floral Sketches" is "Sea-side Flowers." It fulfills her intention by enumerating and giving a few details about small flowers of the Suffolk coast in the pleasant rhythm of the ballad stanza, and, while it is not free of conventional epithets, there is a simple melodic quality here which would appeal to children:

The Eugloss' buds, of crimson hue,
To azure flowers expand;
Like changeful banner, bright to view,
By wild winds fann'd

. . .

But there are days, serene and mild,
When all that mighty deep
Lies tranquil, like some placid child,
That smiles in sleep.

Like the other "Floral Sketches" in the volume this one ends with a lesson -- that God has formed all things in harmony and nothing exists in vain.

The Fables which form the second section of the book are translated from the Italian. Most of them are narratives about wild life, but five have a child as the subject and direct recipient of the moral. Such lessons as control of affection, the evils of captivity, and the virtue of gentleness are taught, but it is once again contentment with one's lot that is stressed. It

is the central point of five out of thirteen fables. "The Frog and the Birds" illustrates this theme and is also one of the better fables because the moral is implicit in the narrative and does not need direct statement. The frog leaves his native bog to live in a garden fount, hoping to entertain the inhabitants there with his sweet voice, but when he commences singing he is scorned by the birds and retreats to his bog. A brief quotation will indicate that in the fables Agnes refrained from what she thought of as "the natural language of refinement and sensibility" which one finds in the sentimental, historical poems and in the miscellaneous verse which belongs to the world of annuals and drawing-room books:

From the dark puddle in a bog,
Where he was born, a croaking Frog
Went forth, and chose another dwelling.
Where a clear garden-fount was swelling.

. . . .

He chose that pleasant time of day
When birds were hopping on each spray;
And proudly, to the assembled throng,
Commenced his old accustomed song.

. . . .

And shrinking from their scorn, the Frog
Retreated to his native bog;
And, quite confounded, hid his head
In the dark pool where he was bred. (p.69-72)

The miscellaneous section of the volume contains poems on a variety of subjects; "The Cottage Emigrant's Farewell," "The Harvest," "Sister's Love," and "Hymn to the Creator" are indicative of the content. Almost all of Agnes's verse is imitative; "The Little Shepherdess," for example, bears echoes of Wordsworth's Lucy poems:

I knew a little cottage maid,
 An orphan from her birth;
 And yet she might be truly called
 The happiest child on earth.

Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies (1850), a volume of 400 pages, is a collection of most of the verse which appeared in earlier volumes together with items which appeared in annuals.²⁵ The first section includes historical poems, chiefly about kings and queens, written in verse forms and rhythms imitative of Byron, Scott, and Browning. "The Royal Fugitive" finds King Charles II repeating a scene from Lady of the Lake, except that he is being chased instead of giving chase. He wanders in the forest, meets a maid who gives him aid, falls in love with her, and wishes to remain there, but she convinces him that as king his duty is to the people and this duty necessitates his departure and reunion with his friends. Years later he returns to the maiden's bower, finds her grave, and lets fall a quiet tear as "His first, last, truly loved one slumbered there" (p. 124). The whole is infused with sentiment, vagueness of atmosphere, and a lack of economy in the use of epithets. It is only in an "Historical Illustration" which accompanies each item in the section that one discovers any pertinent details about the background of the narrative.²⁶

Many of the verses of Agnes
~~Although the annuals began~~ and her sisters were first published in

literary annuals of the 1820's and 1830's. Although the annuals began to appear

²⁵ The Sea-Side Offering (1856), yet another volume, is a small collection of verse prepared for a charity bazaar in Southwold.

²⁶ Other narrative verses in the historical section concern Charles I, Mary Beatrice of Modena, and James II, once again showing Agnes's preference for Stuarts. "The Sister Cities of the Thames" is an attempt at social criticism. The author condemns the worship of Mammon for bringing about misery and allowing men to destroy themselves with "liquid fire" in "licensed marts of crime," but her solution is merely to look to an early age, before the industrial revolution, when "manly sports united all degrees" and "Blithe children gathered daisies in the fields."

in 1823 with the first issue of Forget-Me-Not, published by R. Ackermann, the Strickland sisters did not find the market until the later years of the decade. They were writing children's literature, and some of Agnes's translations of Italian sonnets were appearing in the New Monthly Magazine during 1823-24. But from 1823 to the mid-1830's they contributed many verses and stories to the annuals. Of the sisters, Agnes and Susanna were the most prolific writers for this market.²⁷ Susanna even sent items from Canada after 1832.

The annuals most frequently contributed to by Agnes and Susanna were two of the most successful, Ackermann's Forget-Me-Not (1823-47), edited throughout its existence by Frederic Shoberl, and Friendship's Offering (1824-44), edited by such people as Thomas Pringle and Thomas K. Harvey. Agnes and Jane Margaret both edited annuals as well. Agnes was the editor of the Parting Gift,²⁸ and she was joint editor of Fisher's Juvenile Scrap Book (1837-39) with Bernard Barton. Jane Margaret edited the 1849 volume of the latter publication.

Although the annuals contain contributions by some major nineteenth century writers e Tennyson, Wordsworth, Coleridge, the Brownings - they were principally outlets for minor writers, whose stock-in-trade was romance in emulation of Scott and novels concerning "high-life," and those who dwelt in verse on the tender affections. The literary world of the annuals had a large population, but amongst lists of contributors one notices the frequent appearance of such names as G.P.R. James, Julia Pardoe, Laetitia Landon, the Countess of

²⁷ F.W. Faxon in Literary Annuals and Gift Books (Boston, 1912) tells of lists of annuals in The Boston Public Library Bulletin (Oct., 1893) and the New York Public Library Bulletin (July, 1902), each containing well over a hundred titles of British and American annuals. Annuals in the collections of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library have been searched for Strickland contributions. Many of the more successful annuals are not available in complete runs in these libraries.

²⁸ I have not been able to locate this item, but it is mentioned on the title page of many of Agnes's books.

Blessington, Mary Howitt, Barbara Hofland, Bernard Barton, and Felicia Hemans. The Strickland sisters with their historical tales and their sentimental and religious verses were readily acceptable amongst such a group. Most of the fugitive verse was brought together in Agnes's Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies and Susanna's Enthusiasm and Other Poems (1831).²⁹ Some of the historical tales and village sketches by Agnes were also later collected and issued in book form.

Of more importance to the Strickland literary history and to a consideration of their place in the development of Victorian attitudes is their connection with periodicals for ladies. Susanna was the first sister to have her work appear in a large quantity in such a periodical. Her friend, Thomas Harral,³⁰ a native of Suffolk and editor of La Belle Assemblée, printed some of her verses and prose sketches in that journal during the years 1827-29. The verses are unimportant; they are the usual little songs on "A Nameless Grave" or "The Dream" and they were reprinted in Enthusiasm. But the prose sketches must be viewed in relation to the type of sketch made popular by Washington Irving and Mary Russell Mitford, and to Susanna's later career as a writer in Canada, one who sent back to the Old World a popular book of sketches entitled Roughing It in the Bush (1852).

The "sketch" was a popular term for an informal essay which approached the short story in form and content, and in fact has an important place in the

²⁹ Enthusiasm will be considered along with Susanna's other verse in the chapter on Canadian books.

³⁰ Susanna tells about Harral and her contributions to La Belle Assemblée in a letter to Mary R. Mitford, July 31, 1829, Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford, I, 204-208.

development of the short story as a modern literary form. It was frequently used in the titles of books after Irving and Mitford.³¹ In Irving's Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon (1819) there are both essays and short stories. The essays, such as "The Country Church" and "The Angler," consist of personal observations of character, custom, and place written in a humorous and gentle tone. Usually Irving begins with a general comment and then introduces the reader to a particular example.

Miss Mitford was aware of Irving's book and initially an admirer of it, even though she later wrote of it as "a pack of maudlin trash."³² Although it probably played some part in inspiring her own plans, her love of rural people and the countryside was doubtless the principal factor in the conception of the sketches in Our Village. She too begins most pieces with a generalization and proceeds to create delightful, humorous, and fine portraits of rural institutions and people. She often renders a portion of an individual's history, his eccentricities, his dress, the details of his occupation, and perhaps some little crisis in which he has been involved. Her penchant is for an easy manner and what Mrs. Browning called "Dutch minuteness."³³

One of the earliest admirers of Mary Mitford and her work was Susanna Strickland. She addressed and sent a poem "To Miss Mary Russell Mitford" in June, 1829, received a reply, and began to correspond with Miss Mitford who was a prolific and admirable letter-writer. The correspondence did not last long, for Susanna married in 1831 and began making plans to emigrate, but in

³¹See Andrew Picken's Tales and Sketches of the West of Scotland (1824), Mrs. S.C. Hall's Sketches of Irish Character (1829, 1931), and Charles Dickens's Sketches by Boz (1836-37).

³²The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, ed. A.C.L'Estrange, 2 vols. (1870), II, p. 297.

³³Marjorie Asten, Mary Russell Mitford, Her Circle and Her Books (1930), p. 134.

her letters she expresses her admiration of Miss Mitford's writing:

I had always ranked Miss Mitford as one of the finest of our female writers, and though my knowledge of your writing was entirely confined to the sketches in the annuals, and to some extracts from the "Foscari," these were sufficient to make me feel the deepest interest in your name, and even ^{to} rejoiceⁱⁿ the success that ever attended the publication of your works.³⁴

The extent of Susanna's admiration for Our Village is shown by her own series, "Sketches from the Country," which was printed in La Belle Assemblée.

The series includes five sketches: "The Witch of the East Cliff," "The Two Fishermen," "Naomi," "The Dead Man's Grave," and "Old Hannah; or, The Charm."³⁵

Four of them involve Suffolk legends told to the author by elderly natives; they are written in a hyper-metaphorical style and without restraint on sentiment.

Only in the introductions does Susanna exercise economy and limit her pen to

what she really knows. The fifth sketch, "Old Hannah," most resembles Miss

Mitford's method, for in it Susanna limits herself to personal experience and

writes with warmth and good humour about a maid-servant at Reydon Hall and her superstitious beliefs:

Poor old Hannah! I see her now before me - her short stout figure, framed as it was for labour - her round red face, which long exposure to the weather had so befreckled and betanned, that not one tint of her original complexion was left - her small, deep-seated, merry grey eyes, and the little turned-up impertinent looking nose, that gave, by its singular elevation, such a grotesque and humorous expression to her countenance. Often have I stolen out into the fields to listen to her old tales, a pastime which I infinitely preferred to the detested task of conning my lessons.

Susanna Strickland did not often enough keep her eye on things she knew during her writing career in England, but later in her life in Canada she was to

³⁴See Friendships of Mary R. Mitford, I, pp. 196-98, 204-8, 212-13, 222-24. The quotation is on p. 206.

³⁵See La Belle Assemblée, n.s., VI (1827), 15-19, 109-114, 247-51; n.s., VII (1828), 51-55; n.s., IX (1829), 21-24.

transfer the methods of Miss Mitford to the Canadian literary scene.

In 1830 Agnes also began a series of sketches about Suffolk people. Eight of them appeared during the decade as "Scenes and Stories of Village Life" in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, four in the Lady's Magazine, and one in each of Forget-Me-Not (1835) and the New Monthly Magazine (1844). These fugitive pieces were collected and published with more recently written material as Old Friends and New Acquaintances, first series, 1860, and second series, 1861. The majority of the items in these collections are stories partially based on the histories of Suffolk people; therefore they often encompass a long period of time. They involve the vicissitudes of courtship, smuggling, illegitimate children, fanatical religion, and murder, but they are too often related with excessive concentration on "floods of tears" and "hectic suffusions." Sometimes in the introductions the reader is given a restrained and factual account of some peculiarities of Suffolk such as the frequency of smuggling, or the rituals of St. Valentine's Day, but five of the sketches are characterized by humour, the effective rendition of dialect, and the absence of sentimentality.³⁶ It is only in sketches presenting the peasantry that Agnes fulfills her intention to capture "the customs, the whims, and humours of all sorts and conditions of my fellow creatures," and so approaches the model Our Village provided. An excerpt from "Dorcas and Peter Piper, the Village Valentines," the story of a comical courtship carried on through the parish clerk, is indicative of the sketches in which the author does not attempt to recreate experiences and emotions in an elegant manner:

³⁶The five sketches are: "Bird's-Eye Green," "John Wilton and the Cunning Woman," "Dorcas and Peter Piper, the Village Valentines" in the first series; and "Nehemiah Downton, Our Parish Clerk," and "The Marquis and the Mole-catcher" in the second series.

"Why, lauk, Mister Echemiah, sir, that is just what I am posed about," cried Dorcas, "and what I 'spected you to be able to tell me, as you are such a s'prising scholar, and understands almost everything."

"Don't you know that it is an awkwardish kind of business to find a rhyme just at a minute's notice, young woman?" replied Nehemiah gravely.

"That's a sure thing," responded Dorcas again; "for as true as I am alive, Mister Nehemiah, I have muddled my brains for the last three weeks, day and night, to try to fish out a rhyme to that there, what I just told you, and it is a mercy that I didn't forget that by the way...."

for its care. The essays are given variety and additional interest by the inclusion of anecdotes and quotations from poems.

Agnes's translations of Italian sonnets has been noted above, but in the pages of the Lady's Magazine she brings her interest in Italian literature into line with her curiosity about women in history by writing an essay on the "Life of Vittoria Colonna, Marchesasa Di Pescara,"⁴¹ and by translating two of her sonnets. In the brief biography Agnes praises her subject's "high mental qualifications, and angelic sweetness of temper," and her literary fame, but she stresses her devotion and loyalty to her husband and her influence on him:

....Vittoria was destined to feel the highest pleasure of which the heart of woman is susceptible - that of perceiving she had an ennobling influence on the conduct of the man she loved.

The quotation introduces the theme which dominates the historical chronicles by Agnes and suggests a reason for writing biographies of queens both for the periodical and in book form. "Tales of the English Chronicles" is a series of eight stories which appear at irregular intervals from January, 1834, to July, 1838. Six of the tales are concerned with the period of the Wars of the Roses, and although they exhibit the usual weaknesses of Agnes's fiction they are significant in theme. The essence of these tales is that history centres on women - men of power fall in love with women and the course of history is changed. For example, in "The Prisoner of State"⁴² the Duke of Suffolk, a Lancastrian, is imprisoned in Ludlow Castle, but while he is there he and Elizabeth of York fall in love and she beguiles him into becoming a Yorkist while he is still in his cell. The conclusion of the tale provides a typical

⁴¹Lady's Magazine, n.s., 1 (1830), . 169-73.

⁴²Ibid., 1.s., V (1834), . 368-73, and VI. (1835), . 150-61.

comment by the author:

Party attachments and political principles are too often sacrificed on a more ignoble shrine than that of love. As a man of honour, Suffolk ought perhaps to have resisted the mighty temptation with which his fealty to the cause of Lancaster was assailed, and remained a partisan of the red rose, even at the expense of his happiness; but the records of history assure us that he became the husband of the Lady Elizabeth of York, and assumed the badge of her family, to which he remained a firm adherent for the rest of his life.

A woman may even sway the decision of a King, as Margaret of Scotland does that of Henry III in order to save her husband Hubert de Burgh from death.⁴³

In this series of tales and in the biographical sketches of queens in the Lady's Magazine may be seen the consolidation of the Strickland views of woman's place in society which began with Agnes's Seven Ages of Woman and permeated several of the children's books and historical romances.⁴⁴ The biographical sketches did not allow enough scope for the Strickland sisters to develop and illustrate their theme, but they did state it and they did write with awareness of it:

Nothing can be more interesting to women than female biography, or more important to society at large, of which they are the most conspicuous members, than to trace in history the career of those who, in the elegant words of Shakespeare's Anne Boleyn,

"Are perked up in a glist'ning grief,
And wear a golden sorrow."⁴⁵

In addition to a theme, the bases of several other features of the Queens of England are set in the biographical articles. The authors made use of diaries, chronicles, and collections of letters, they sought guidance from the director

⁴³Ibid., i.s., IV (1834), . . 6-14.

⁴⁴The ideas are evident in The Pilgrims of Walsingham, Alda, The British Captive, The Spanish Conscript, Ellen Cleveland. Articles on the place of woman in society appeared in the Lady's Magazine - "On Woman, Her Influence on Man, and the Effect produced by Female Society," i.s., I (1832), . . 60-64, and "On the Female Character," i.s., VI (1835), . . 220-22. There were also reviews of books by women.

⁴⁵"Memoir of Anne Boleyn, Queen of England," Lady's Magazine, i.s., III (Sept., 1833), . . 115-126.

of the British Museum, Sir Frederick Madden, and they ended each article with the description of a portrait. Their biased views concerning Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots, were also established. In 1837 they made the decision to embark on a set of lives in which they could explore the contributions of queens to society, both as monarchs and as women.

CHAPTER III

Lives of the Queens of England
and Victorian Feminism

Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland were not avowed or active feminists; they were not consciously struggling for female emancipation. When Agnes was confronted with an opportunity to support a move to assert female rights, she rejected it. In 1857 Mrs. Mary Howitt wrote to Agnes asking her to support a petition to the House of Commons concerning the rights of married women to their own property. In reply Agnes stated, "The grievance, though founded in fact," appeared to her "irremediable by human means being part and parcel of the penalties entailed by Eve's transgression." Her solution was "to ask God to regenerate the hearts of wicked men."¹ Coming from a successful female author who wrote so much about the importance of individual women in various societies, this statement seems incongruous, but Agnes Strickland was not alone in this position. Even Caroline Norton, well known as an author and for her struggle to secure some right to the possession of her children, wrote in 1838, "The wild and stupid theories advanced by a few women of 'equal rights' and 'equal intelligence' are not the opinion of their sex. I for one (I, with millions more), believe in the natural superiority of man, as I do in the existence of God. The natural position of woman is

¹Una Pope-Hennessy, Agnes Strickland (1940), p. 243, quoted from a letter in the Mary Stuart Album in the possession of James Pope-Hennessy.

inferiority to man."²

Nevertheless, the place of Lives of the Queens of England in the literary history of the nineteenth century, the tone and content of the work, and the careers of Agnes and Elizabeth themselves as popular historical biographers formed a part of a voluminous and prolonged dialogue on the proper place of women in society. The question is, of course, a universal one, and the dialogue perennial, but in the latter half of the eighteenth century the "woman question" became more and more significant as the number of educated women increased and they began to reveal opinions and attitudes in letters and novels. The struggle for greater recognition of the social importance of women and for a new role in society reached one of its crises in 1792 with the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, for her book gave added stimulus to the dialogue and prepared the way for its fervent continuation throughout the nineteenth century. It became a dialogue involving people of greatly varied careers and backgrounds, and it was expressed in many forms - sermons, novels, poems, essays, histories, and biographies.

One reason for the success of the Queens of England seems to have been that it filled a need in mid-nineteenth-century England. A new female monarch had recently been crowned, thus providing a superficial reason for interest in queens of the past; sociologically the time was ripe for the publication of books about the achievements of women; the Strickland series gave expression to Victorian ideals concerning love, family, and the role of women. For a proper

²Viola Klein, The Female Character (1946), p. 24.

understanding of the popularity of the series and of the host of rival publications to which it gave rise, it must be viewed against the background of the history of feminist literature in England.

Several significant essays on the subject of equality and on the education of women appeared in the seventeenth century. A treatise by Henry Cornelius Agrippa, which had been translated from the Latin and published in England in 1542, was published in 1670 as Female Pre-eminence: or The Dignity and Excellency of that Sex, Above the Male. It argues the superiority of women on physical and religious grounds. Seven years later a translation of a French work claimed equality of the sexes and suggested that the supposed defects of women resulted from the education which was allowed them.³ The theme of women's education found exponents in Bathshua Makin, Hannah Woolley, and Mary Astell. Mrs. Makin's An Essay to revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts, and Tongues (1673) was the result of her own experience as a teacher and governess. The essay opposes the view that women are not creatures of reason to the same extent as men and therefore not capable of improvement by education. Hannah Woolley, also a teacher, was the writer of guides such as The Gentlewoman's Companion; or, A Guide to the Female Sex (1675). She reiterates the argument of Bathshua Makin as well as outlining the duties of women in their various relations with other people. Four feminist volumes are generally attributed to Mary Astell: A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, in two parts (1694 and 1697), Some Reflections upon Marriage (1700), and An Essay in Defence of the Female

³ The Woman as Good as the Man: or, The Equality of Both Sexes, translated by A.L. (1677).

Sex (1696).⁴ These four books include the principal themes upon which women writers were to discourse for the next hundred years, in various ways and with alterations in attitude in accordance with social changes. In the two parts of A Serious Proposal to the Ladies Mary Astell asks women to overcome the defects of feminine custom:

No longer drudge on in the dull beaten road of Vanity and Folly, which so many have gone before us; but dare to break the enchanted Circle that custom has plac'd us in, and scorn the vulgar way of imitating all the Impertinencies of our Neighbours. Let us learn to pride our selves in something more excellent than the invention of Fashion: And not entertain such a degrading thought of our own worth, as to imagin that our Souls were given us only for the service of our Bodies, and that the best improvement we can make of these, is to attract the eyes of men.⁵

She saw a more serious education as the only means of combating trivialities, and therefore planned to cure ladies of their weaknesses by establishing monastic institutions or colleges to which women might withdraw in order to cultivate the intellect and practise piety. Those who wished to remain in the contemplative life were to have the opportunity to do so. The others would return to society and aid the general improvement of mankind. That a better education for women would result in a better society was another important aspect of feminist arguments. Mary Astell thought that the cultivation of the intellect in women would also create more stable marriages by rendering wives more worthy companions of their husbands.⁶ Another suggestion for women's colleges was set forth by Daniel Defoe at the end of the seventeenth century in An Essay upon Projects (1697).

⁴Doris M. Stenton, The English Woman in History (1957), p.214, suggests that An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex is too light-hearted to have been written by a serious and religious lady like Mary Astell.

⁵A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, part 1 (1694), pp. 13-14.

⁶Some Reflections Upon Marriage (1700), pp. 89-90.

During the eighteenth century, with more women receiving better educations, there was an increase in the number of tracts on the rights and duties of women and on education, as well as a new interest in historical surveys and biographical compilations concerning the achievements of women. The growing number of female writers led to the Bluestocking evenings at the homes of Mrs. Elizabeth Montague, Mrs. Vesey, and Mrs. Boscawen, and learned women writers were able to take their place in literary circles along with men.

In reaction, the latter part of the century saw the promulgation of the idea that the female character is naturally more delicate, affectionate, and sensible than that of man; that her constitution prevented her from seeking activities outside of the domestic, and a limited social circle.⁷ Her essential function was to be attractive to men, to soften their hearts and polish the manners of male society. John Gregory advised his daughters to conceal learning, wit, and good sense if they possessed these qualities, and to devote themselves to all that is delicate and pious.⁸

Such views of the place of woman were strenuously opposed by several

⁷The principal exponents of the idea in England were John Gregory, M.D., A Father's Legacy to His Daughters (1774), and James Fordyce, D.D., The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex (1776). Jean J. Rousseau's portrayal of Sophie in his Emile (Amsterdam, 1762) was also very influential in England. Gregory's book seems the most reactionary; his directives demand a very shallow character and almost total conformity for women. Although Dr. Fordyce would keep women in the home, he feels that they have more sense and ability than they have been given credit for by the generality of men. Men, he suggests, are chiefly responsible for the fashionable, trivial, and materialistic women of the eighteenth century.

⁸Gregory, Father's Legacy, pp. 30-32. The extreme nature of Gregory's statements is indicated by the following: "Be even cautious in displaying your good sense. It will be thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company. - But if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts, and a cultivated understanding."

eighteenth-century female writers. The authors of Woman Not Inferior to Man (1743) and Female Rights Vindicated (1753) both claimed full equality of the sexes,⁹ but Mary Wollstonecraft was the principal opponent of the beliefs presented by such men as Dr. Fordyce, Dr. Gregory, and Jean Jacques Rousseau. She saw that as long as the prevailing customs endured women would be triflers, frivolous and vain, groomed only to please men. She advocated one moral standard for men and women, and an education that would enable women to develop their intellectual capacities. In her view the penalty for not allowing women greater freedom and usefulness would be a lack of social progress.¹⁰

Other women continued Mary Wollstonecraft's lines of thought.¹¹ Mary Hays, one of her admirers, reiterated the criticism of female preoccupation with fashion and manners, and urged the development of young minds.¹² She then proceeded to provide an antidote to the idea that education would render females unsuitable for their traditional role, by writing letters which contain illustrations of the effect of a proper or an improper education upon the degree of happiness or unhappiness a woman would create in marriage. The woman who had cultivated the intellect and pursued an interest in literature and the arts would be a more pleasing companion and inspiration to her husband than the one who had not. Such an opinion was to gain more and more favour with women in the nineteenth century.

⁹ By Sophia, A Person of Quality, and by a Lady, respectively.

¹⁰ A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792), p. 80.

¹¹ Mary Hays's An Appeal to the Men of Great Britain on behalf of Women (1793) and Mary Anne Radcliffe's The Female Advocate or an Attempt to recover the Rights of Women from Male Usurpation (1799) were both begun about the same time as Mary Wollstonecraft's book and set aside when it was issued.

¹² Mary Hays, Letters and Essays (1793), pp. viii-ix.

The restrictive advice given by such men as Dr. Gregory was also being combated by the existence of the large number of women writers of the age. One could present an impressive list of novelists, letter writers, playwrights, and poets. Amongst such a list would be the names of several women who wrote on the subject of education: Hester Chapone, author of Letters on the Improvement of the Mind (1807), Catharine Macaulay, author of Letters on Education (1790), Maria Edgeworth, author of Letters for Literary Ladies (1795), and Hannah More, author of Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education (1799). Their works strengthened the theme that women should be educated to make them more agreeable companions for their husbands and better mothers to their children. Hannah More, for example, emphasized woman's opportunity to set the tone of public morals by means of influence on husbands and the effective education of children. She and most of her contemporaries were wholly in favour of keeping woman in the home, but, at the same time, she herself earned her living as a writer and teacher. Maria Edgeworth was a successful novelist, and Catharine Macaulay wrote a History of England (1763-1783).

By the end of the eighteenth century the foundations were set for a controversy on female rights and duties which became more intense with the passage of years. In the 1820's and 1830's socialist groups such as the Saint-Simonians and Fourierists in France advocated the emancipation of women as an essential part of the process of social evolution. Their doctrines were disseminated in England, but England also had its own socialists in Robert Owen and his followers. Owen's newspapers, The Crisis (1832-1834) and The New Moral World (1834-1841), presented many articles on various aspects of feminism including

marriage, education, and employment.¹³

Female authors such as Anna Jameson and Harriet Martineau recognized that woman's position in society was anomalous. Mrs. Jameson wrote that theoretically woman's sphere was the home, and yet many women never married and were compelled to support themselves by labour in industry or, if they were educated, by writing and teaching. She argued that woman should be allowed a greater range of vocations and the appropriate education to prepare her for them.¹⁴ Harriet Martineau believed that the best feminists would be those women who succeeded in occupying important positions in society, "the female physicians and other professors in America, the women of business and the female artists of France; and the hospital administrators, the nurses, the educators and substantially successful authors of our own country."¹⁵

Although the groups and individuals advocating equality of the sexes were gathering strength by the mid-nineteenth century, there were still many traditionalists eager to set forth a variety of opinion, as the many essays on the proper sphere of woman testify.¹⁶ There were many statements concerning the delicacy and sensibility of woman, but the traditionalist viewpoint was altering slightly. There was greater accord and more stress on the need for better education, so that she could more effectively carry out her role as wife and mother, and thus affect society in general. Woman's Mission (1836)

¹³ John Killham, Tennyson and The Princess (1958). Killham's book contains chapters on the Saint Simonians and Owenists, with a fuller discussion of their theories and actions. He also discusses the conflict between traditional feminists and those advocating greater freedom and equality.

¹⁴ "Woman's Mission' and Woman's Position," Memoirs and Essays (1846), pp. 209-248.

¹⁵ Autobiography, 3 vols. (1877), I, p. 401. Miss Martineau also wrote about the degradation and confinement of women in Society in America, 3 vols. (1837). See "The Political Non-Existence of Women," I, pp. 199-207.

¹⁶ A selected list of books on the proper sphere for women appears in the bibliography.

provides a good example. After claiming that the right of women to education is universally acknowledged, the author outlines the scope of that education in general terms:

The grand objects, then, in the education of women ought to be, the conscience, the heart, and the affections; the development of those moral qualities, which Providence has so liberally bestowed upon themThe conscience and the affections being primarily enlightened, all other cultivation, as secondary, is most valuable. Intelligence, accomplishments, even external elegance, become objects of importance, as assisting the influence which women have, and exert too often for unworthy ends, but which in this case could not fail to be beneficial. Let the light of intellect, and the charm of accomplishments, be the willing handmaids of cultivated and enlightened conscience.¹⁷

The belief that woman has special capabilities and has accomplished much by them, even in her oppressed condition, lent itself to the production of historical surveys and of biographies. The authors of Female Rights Vindicated (1758) and Woman; Her Character and Vicissitudes (1845) both used historical surveys briefly in order to illustrate the fortitude, gentle affections, and intellectual accomplishments of women. Lady Morgan, in her book Woman and Her Master (1840), used the same method entirely, very effectively, to illustrate her point of view. Her book continually reveals that though woman has been subjected to the physical dominance of the male, she has been able to exert her influence by means of a higher moral sensibility and quickness of intellect. For example, in her chapter on "Women of the Hebrews Under the Monarchy," she states that "whenever the instrumentality of mind was wanting, the Hebrew women were still, as of old, found coming to the aid of their masters, with powers fully equal to the especial occasion,"¹⁸ and that these women "are rarely cited,

¹⁷[Sarah Lewis], Woman's Mission, 2nd edition (1839), p. 65.

¹⁸Woman and Her Master, 2 vols. (1840), I, p. 156.

save when honourably brought forward in the exercise of some natural affection, or by the outbreak of some high quality of mind!"¹⁹ Lady Morgan's book surveys the place of woman in ancient societies from the savage life to the end of the Roman era. At the end of her work she makes a concise statement of her view of the position of woman in history:

That she has reflected many of the vices of her master, through outraged feelings and the influence of a false position, is no derogation from the general truth. This was but the accident of her career; her spiritual and affectionate activity in humanizing society, in averting evil, and promoting good, was the immediate law of her peculiar organization, and constant as its cause. To limit and pervert this agency has been the great object of the social and legal institutions of imperfect civilization; to give a full development to the design of nature, by better arrangements, will be the crowning labour of man's earthly warfare, his triumph over himself.²⁰

Another relevant feature of Lady Morgan's book is that her analysis is largely biographical. To reveal the status and influence of women in various ages she uses the queens, the legendary heroines, the women famous in Biblical history, or those with political influence in Greece and Rome.²¹

Woman and Her Master was not the first historical survey of the position of woman. A Mr. Russell translated and enlarged a French work, Essay on the Character, Manners, and Genius of Women in Different Ages,²² in 1773, and in 1779 William Alexander's The History of Women was published, especially written for female readers. In his Introduction Alexander criticises the restricted nature of women's activities and the incomplete education allowed to them.

¹⁹ Woman and Her Master, I, p.154.

²⁰ Ibid., II, p.416.

²¹ Lady Morgan was concerned with the influence of woman much earlier than 1840. In 1811 her novel, Woman, or Ida of Athens, was published, dealing with the position of woman in Greek society, and in 1817 her popular account of France contained a chapter on the influence, habits, and characteristics of woman in that country.

²² Antoine L. Thomas, 2 vols.

His chapters are on various social aspects such as education, "The Character and Conduct of Women," and "Of Matrimony," each chapter being a concise account of the peculiar features of each topic in the various civilizations up to the eighteenth century. Frederick Shoberl's translation of Christoph Meiner's History of the Female Sex was brought out in 1808; it is designed to show the oppression of woman through the ages and her accomplishments in spite of it. A fourth survey, The History of the Condition of Women (1835), by Mrs. L.M. Child, resembles Alexander's book in that it is a social history of various regions and civilizations. In 1843, after Lady Morgan's book and coinciding with the early volumes of the Queens of England, yet another survey was begun, The History of Woman in England, by Hannah Lawrance. Miss Lawrance completed only one volume dealing with the Anglo-Saxon period. Like the others its purpose was feminist, for the author intended to "trace the progress of female society in England from the earliest period of her history, and illustrate the influence of woman on our civilization and literature."²³ The book is similar to Lady Morgan's, being chiefly concerned with the educations, cultural activities, and political influence of Anglo-Saxon queens.

Along with the historical surveys of women another type of work deserves mention, the poem in praise of literary ladies. One of the earliest of these was John Duncombe's The Femiad (1754). It was followed by The Female Advocate (1774), by Mary Scott, to include the ladies whom Duncombe had omitted. Elizabeth Bennger produced The Female Geniad (1791), and Lucy Aikin wrote Epistles on Women (1810). Most of the women selected for praise were eighteenth-century Bluestockings.

²³The History of Woman in England (1843), p. v.

but the three women writers also included queens noted for their literary accomplishments.²⁴ Furthermore, the female authors wrote introductions with feminist sentiments. Mary Scott suggested that a more liberal education for women would create more happiness in society. Elizabeth Benger hoped that her readers would emulate the subjects of her poems in the pursuit of learning, genius, and virtue. Lucy Aikin, more traditional in her outlook, felt that women should attain nobility within their customary realm of duties, but she called upon her readers to look to history for examples of women who have been "the worthy associates of the best efforts of the best of men."²⁵ During the nineteenth century other writers were to examine, in poetic form, the place of woman in society.

To show the characters of famous women of the past, to reveal their achievements, and to encourage emulation was frequently the intention of biographers of women as well. Nor has this policy been confined to the nineteenth century. One modern author has suggested that the best history of the feminist movement would include "all the great women of the world...the Saints, the Queens, the scholars; and in modern days the great army of women in professions, in trade and in industry - all the workers who take jobs and make a success of them. I should want to know what they were like as well as what they did; I should write history as biography."²⁶ This author devoted her book to one

²⁴ Lucy Aikin sketches the condition of women in savage life, among the pastoral tribes, in Greek civilization, etc., up to Renaissance England. Queens included in the praises of these authors are Elizabeth, Katharine Parr, Lady Jane Grey, and Mary, Queen of Scots.

²⁵ Epistles on Women, p. vi.

²⁶ Janet Courtney, The Adventurous Thirties. A Chapter in the Women's Movement (Oxford, 1933), p. 2.

group of women, the writers of the eighteenth century, among them Mrs. Hemans, Caroline Southey, Lady Caroline Norton, Letitia Landon, and Harriet Martineau.

The choice of literary ladies as subjects for biography has long been a popular one. This was the basis upon which George Ballard made his selection for Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain (1752). His collection is in the manner of a biographical dictionary with little descriptive colour in the sketches, although he did make use of letters. He included women writers, learned ladies, and the wives of literary men, who had made some contribution to their husbands' successes. People such as Margaret More Roper and Mary Astell receive considerable attention, but of especial interest to this study is the inclusion of five English queens and Lady Jane Grey.

Another biographical dictionary, drawing its material chiefly from Ballard's book, was published in 1766. Biographium Faemineum, as the book is entitled, contains the lives of some queens, the same ones as Ballard's Memoirs with the addition of Jane Seymour. But the principal feature of the book is its feminist Preface. The writer, looking at his topic from a religious point of view, felt that before the fall man may have been intellectually superior to woman, but that as a result of the fall he remains only physically dominant. History, ^{or she} he/says, provides one with many parallels and comparisons between the sexes which show that women have been equally endowed with "those noble faculties of the mind, which distinguish the rational from the animal and brute part of creation...."²⁷ Unfortunately, most women had been denied an education which would develop the intellect, the prevailing aim of female education having been

²⁷Biographium Faemineum, p. v.

that of fitting them to obtain husbands, and therefore conducive to vanity and trivial amusements. The purpose of the book was to show the number of ladies of past centuries,

Queens, princesses, and ladies of quality,...[who] found the most agreeable amusements in their closets, in the study of languages, and in scientific and philosophical enquiries. The muses were their delightful companions, and Belles Lettres, the garden from whence they plucked the finest flowers to adorn their minds, and add^a lustre to all their other noble qualities. However, in the pursuit of learning, they did not forget the duties of social life; for they generally made the most excellent wives, and understood the oeconomy of a family much better than our modern young ladies are supposed to do.²⁸

The author pointed out that, though the book contains some rather notorious lives, it was hoped that "some useful lessons may be learnt from the several parts they acted."²⁹

Biographia Britannica (6 vols., 1747-66) neglected the famous women of Great Britain. A few celebrated ladies such as Lady Jane Grey and Margaret Beaufort are included, but queens were omitted from its six volumes, except for incidental mention in the accounts of other persons.³⁰ Eccentric Biography (1803), although it is devoted to female subjects, includes short sketches of only the most famous or infamous queens.

The next rather comprehensive biographical collection, also published in 1803, was Female Biography, by Mary Hays, who was discussed above as an admirer of Mary Wollstonecraft and as the writer of a book of letters and essays

²⁸ Biographum Faemineum, pp. v-vi.

²⁹ Ibid., p. ix.

³⁰ In the second edition of Biographia Britannica, edited by Andrew Kippis, more famous women are included, but this edition, 5 vols. (1773-1793) proceeds only to the letter F in its alphabetical choice of subjects. Queens are still omitted. The Rev. James Granger's A Biographical History of England, 3 vols. (1769-1774) includes queens, but the notices are very brief, sometimes little more than the date of birth and an anecdote. Granger is more concerned with listing the portraits in existence.

on female education. Her six volumes, once again of the dictionary type, include an extensive survey of the lives of both English and foreign queens and literary ladies. Lives such as that of Elizabeth of England, for which she had many sources, are of considerable length, but Miss Hays did not include many passages of descriptive detail or quotations from letters and manuscript sources. As might be expected, she wrote a feminist Preface containing some relevant theory on biographies for women which will be discussed below. Her introduction to the "Life of Elizabeth" should, however, reveal her feminist purpose within the lives themselves:

If the question respecting the equality of the sexes was to be determined by an appeal to the characters of sovereign princes, the comparison is, in proportion, manifestly in favour of woman, and that without having recourse to the trite and flippant observation, proved to have been ill founded, of male and female influence. Elizabeth of England affords a glorious example in truth of this position....³¹

In the four decades of the nineteenth century preceding the publication of the first volume of Lives of the Queens of England, there were six female biographers, important to this study, who wrote about royal and celebrated ladies. Of these, the Strickland sisters knew Mrs. Jameson personally, having moved for a time in the same literary circle,³² and they referred to the works of Lucy Aikin and Elizabeth Benger in their footnotes. It is probable that they were aware of the volumes by Mary Hays, especially the one devoted wholly to queens. Mrs. Sandford's Woman, In Her Social and Domestic Character (1831) was reviewed in the Lady's Magazine at a time when the Stricklands were contributing frequently to it and when Elizabeth may have been editing it.³³ They were

³¹Female Biography (1803), IV, pp. 70-71.

³²Pope-Hennessy, p. 26.

³³"Woman in Her Social and Domestic Character," Lady's Magazine,^{i.s.} V (1832), 211-214.

certainly acquainted with Hannah Lawrance, for they charged her with appropriating the title of their series after it had appeared in an advertisement in the Literary Gazette.³⁴

Each of the biographers mentioned above was a declared feminist, that is, each stated in prefaces or in other works that she sought some degree of improvement in the status of women. Mrs. Sandford wrote tracts defending the traditional position of woman and suggesting steps for her improvement. Miss Benzer and Lucy Aikin wrote feminist prefaces to their eulogistic poems. Feminist works by Mary Hays and Hannah Lawrance on education and the influence of women have already been discussed. Mrs. Jameson, probably the most active feminist of those mentioned, presented her views in several books throughout her writing career.³⁵

Before considering particular feminine aspects of the Strickland biographies, it seems relevant to take note of the biographical theory which their predecessors expressed, for it is in the light of this theory and the above survey of feminist literature that a partial explanation of the nature and success of Lives of the Queens of England may be found.

Among the six predecessors under discussion, Lucy Aikin, Mrs. Jameson and Hannah Lawrance wrote about the scope of their works in prefaces. Lucy

³⁴Letter from Elizabeth Strickland to Richard Bentley, 10 January, 1853. Bentley Collection, University of Illinois.

³⁵Mrs. Jameson's first feminist book was Lives of the Poets (1829), a superficial analysis of the influence of women on the famous poets. Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns (1831) adheres to the traditional feminist viewpoint. Characteristics of Women (2 vols., 1832) was a very popular analysis of the women in Shakespeare's plays. In 1838 she had published a three-volume work entitled Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in which she frequently declared that women were in a false position. They were trained for marriage, but, in fact, they often had to support themselves by working in factories. In her later Memoirs and Essays (1846) and The Communion of Labour (1856) she elaborated upon her ideas and stressed the need for education suited to employments.

Aikin's intention is evident in the title of her book, Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth (1818), and in the Preface she elaborates:

Its plan comprehends a detailed view of the private life of Elizabeth from the period of her birth; a view of the domestic history of her reign; memoirs of the principal families of the nobility and biographical anecdotes of the celebrated characters who composed her court; besides notices of the manners, opinions and literature of her reign.³⁶

She carried out her intention, for her book contains frequent digressions on literature, literary personalities and events, and on the genealogies of lords of Elizabeth's reign, for all of which she referred to many chroniclers and earlier historians. Hannah Lawrance, author of Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England (1838-40), also proposed to trace, in addition to the lives of queens, "the progress of the arts, the literature, and the social advancement of England."³⁷ Her book includes whole chapters on such subjects as "Society in England During the Middle Ages,"² and "The Arts of the Thirteenth Century." Anna Jameson's Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns (1831), being two volumes about twelve queens, is not nearly as comprehensive on any one sovereign as Lucy Aikin's book. In the Preface she imposed limits on the lives when she wrote: "...public affairs and national events, which are detailed in the usual works of authority, are not dwelt upon except as connected with the destiny, or emanating from the personal and private character - the passions and prejudices of the individual sovereign."³⁸ Her book, therefore, is closer to pure biography than those of Miss Aikin and Miss Lawrance. Elizabeth Benger wrote the memoirs of three queens: Anne Boleyn (1821), Mary, Queen of Scots (1823), and Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia (1825).

³⁶ Aikin, Memoirs, p. iv.

³⁷ Preface, p. iv.

³⁸ p. viii.

Like Lucy Aikin's work these are digressive, with emphasis on political events and intrigues, rather than on the literature of an era. Miss Benger wrote at great length on the complicated political affairs in the court of France during the life of Mary Stuart. Mary Hays's lives, in Memoirs of Queens Illustrious and Celebrated (1821), are mostly based on her earlier Female Biography and are chiefly summaries of the principal events in the life of each queen.

The Stricklands originally intended to call their series "memoirs," and, like Lucy Aikin, Elizabeth Benger, and Hannah Lawrance, allowed themselves considerable scope in the composition of their biographies. Agnes stated in the Introduction to volume I that their intention was "to present in a regular and connected chain the history of female royalty, to trace the progress of civilization, learning, and refinement in this country, and to show how greatly these were affected by queenly influence in all ages."³⁹ But the Stricklands did not digress on literature, social institutions, and politics to the same extent as the earlier writers and are more deserving of the title "biographers."⁴⁰

Statements on the characteristics of "female biography" were made by four of the writers under consideration besides the Strickland sisters, and each commented on four aspects of such writing in addition to scope. The most comprehensive discussion of the subject is Elizabeth Sandford's introductory chapter to Lives of English Female Worthies (1833), entitled "On Female Biography."

Mrs. Sandford begins her essay by saying that, since women are not generally found as chief participants in heroic and romantic action, the reader cannot expect a biography full of action and adventure. Rather it will include

³⁹Lives of the Queens of England, 12 vols. (1840-48), I, pp. xvii-xviii.

⁴⁰A more comprehensive discussion of the memoir and the biography is contained in chapter V, "The Stricklands as Historical Biographers."

an account of private duties and "ordinary events of domestic life." In a later paragraph she elaborates on this opinion, commenting that the biography should "estimate her more by the general harmony of her character than by any peculiar and single development."⁴¹

Her second point is that all biography must trace the development of character. In female biography the execution of this principle will result in a book quiet in tone, and it will serve as a contribution to "the general history of the female mind."⁴² It will also provide a guide for the personal conduct of other women. This didactic purpose of biography was the one stressed most heavily by early nineteenth-century biographers.

The last point which she makes is that the women celebrated in biographies should be those who have exerted influence of a quiet and gentle kind. This influence "has not been confined to domestic life, but has often embraced and adorned an ampler sphere. To say nothing of the silent effect of their example, the success that has sometimes attended them as authors may be considered a gratifying tribute to their usefulness. Society will acknowledge the debt it owes to those of them who, as moral and religious writers, have attracted public attention, and so materially affected the tone and habits of their sex."⁴³ This statement reveals that Mrs. Sandford's heroines were not the notorious women in history, or those with great political power such as Elizabeth I. She loved the pious, learned women, inclined to write of their domestic and religious experiences, such as Lucy Hutchinson.⁴⁴ Other female

⁴¹Sandford, Lives, p. xi.

⁴²Ibid., p. x.

⁴³Ibid., p. xiv.

⁴⁴She was the author of Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (1836).

biographers would not have agreed with her limitations. The books of Mary Hays, Mrs. Jameson, and the Stricklands contain a much wider range of subjects. One of Mrs. Jameson's purposes was to demonstrate "the influence which a female government has had, generally, on men and nations, and of the influence which the possession of power has had individually on the female character."⁴⁵ She included notorious figures such as Cleopatra and Catherine II of Russia as well as the pious women noted for their influence on their husbands. Nevertheless, Mrs. Sanford has given the four basic suggestions for female biography: that it should deal with private and domestic duties, that it should trace character, that it should be didactic, and that it should reveal the realms of female influence, which may be wide in scope or very limited.

The wider range of subject matter in the books of Mary Hays and Anna Jameson led to a variation on Mrs. Sanford's recommended private duties and domestic concerns as well. They felt that biography should contain much picturesque matter, "lively images, the graces of sentiment, and the polish of language."⁴⁶ This is necessary, wrote Mary Hays, because dry information does not appeal to women. They require truths to be adorned and "pleasure to be mingled with instruction."

The views of Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland on historical biography are scattered throughout the prefaces and introductions to various volumes of their work. The didactic purpose of the series is mentioned only incidentally, as in the Introduction to Lives of the Queens of Scotland where, in a paragraph

⁴⁵ Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns (1831), p. vii.

⁴⁶ Mary Hays, Female Biography (1803), I, p. iv.

on her aims, Agnes mentions that history, "when truthfully told and philosophically considered, is the noblest school of ethics replete with moral teaching,"⁴⁷ or as in Elizabeth's comment on her life of Margaret Tudor:

Let not any one suppose that the analysis of a character of this species is an unprofitable study. The world abounds in Margaret Tudors, who pursue the vain idolatry of self-worship, though not quite as shamelessly....⁴⁸

The other three characteristics of "female biography" received more explicit treatment. The Strickland policy for the portrayal of character was to employ everything they could find in the way of personal details, for "in historical biography it becomes the author's duty to enter within the veil, and, without reservation or one-sided views, to bring forward everything that tends to display character in its true light."⁴⁹ In her Preface to volume twelve Agnes revealed their feminist purpose, although their concept of the woman's role was limited to the traditional view of influence within the domestic sphere:

Whether beloved or not, the influence of the wife and companion of the sovereign must always be considerable; and, for the honour of womankind, be it remembered that it has, generally speaking, been exerted for worthy purposes. Our queens have been instruments in the hands of God, for the advancement of civilization and the exercise of a moral and religious influence.⁵⁰

Finally, Agnes and Elizabeth stressed the use of picturesque details. This policy is revealed, of course, in their interest in personal details such as manners and dress, which they considered essential to the presentation of character. In the Preface to volume four Agnes noted that "the records of the Tudor queens are replete with circumstances of powerful interest, and

⁴⁷Lives of the Queens of Scotland, 8 vols. (1850-59), I, p. xvi.

⁴⁸QS., I, p.155.

⁴⁹QS., IV, p. xi.

⁵⁰QE., XII, p.ix.

rich in the picturesque costume of an age of pageantry and of romance."⁵¹ An examination of Strickland lives reveals that the use of descriptions of costume and pageantry was by no means confined to the lives of Tudor queens. This is one characteristic that makes their productions so voluminous, but, besides having one example for such an approach to biography in the theories of preceding female writers, they may have been indebted to romantic historians such as Augustin Thierry and to the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott.⁵²

When the Strickland sisters began to plan their series of lives in 1837 they possessed an awareness of the interest of women in noble and famous persons of their sex; they could look to the examples of female biography in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and to the popularity of their own series of memoirs in the Lady's Magazine. The publication of those brief memoirs, Agnes's "Tales of the English Chronicles," and her account of the Seven Ages of Woman evince that they had personal views about the importance of women to society. They must have been aware of the increasing interest of women in literary careers which they themselves reflected, for Agnes had written about the problem of striking the proper balance between the development of literary inclinations and domestic accomplishments.⁵³ They saw, in the accession to the throne of a female sovereign, an opportune moment for the production of a series on England's queens. What now remains to be shown is that Lives of the Queens of England exemplifies the ideals of traditional feminism and that it was written in a manner that would appeal to women.

⁵¹op. cit., IV, p.xi.

⁵²The romantic style of the Strickland biographies is discussed in chapter V.

⁵³"Le Pas Bleu," Tales of the School-Room [1835], pp. 163-83.

For something that abode endure
 With temple-like repose, an air
 Of life's kind purposes pursued
 With order'd freedom sweet and fair.
 A tent pitch'd in a world not right
 It seem'd, whose inmates, every one,
 On tranquil faces bore the light,
 Of duties beautifully done....⁵⁴

. . . .

The above quotation from Coventry Patmore's "The Angel in the House" is an apt illustration of the emphasis placed on the importance of the happy and well-regulated home in the Victorian era. It is an emphasis that one finds in the fiction and poetry of the period, as well as in tracts such as Woman's Mission (1836) and Sarah Stickney Ellis's The Women of England (1839).⁵⁵ The Strickland sisters also subscribed to the ideal of the loving wife and mother, conscientious and intelligent, and their works give evidence of a constant effort to portray harmonious relationships between kings and queens. Some of the most common phrases to appear in their series are "conjugal love," "conjugal happiness," "conjugal duty," "maternal affection," and other similar combinations. The intention of the examples which follow is not to suggest that they were always wrong in using such terms, but to show that they frequently overstated the case.

The life of Matilda of Flanders, wife of William the Conqueror, provides a good example of the idealization of the marriage relationship and the attempt to cope with discrepancies. William, it seems, had a rival for the hand of Matilda, with the result that over a period of seven years he was disappointed in his suit. Finally, in the year 1047, "he...waylaid Matilda in the streets of Bruges as she was returning from mass, seized her, rolled her in the dirt,

⁵⁴ Coventry Patmore, "Angel in the House," The Poems of Coventry Patmore (1949), ed. Frederick Page, Ek. 1, Canto 1, p.69.

⁵⁵ See also The Wives of England (1843) and The Daughters of England (1845).

spoiled her rich array, and, not content with these outrages, struck her repeatedly, and rode off at full speed."⁵⁶ After this incident she consented to marry him, either convinced of his passion, said Agnes, or afraid of him.

After reporting this violent beginning to married life, the biographer had to deal with Matilda's partiality for her eldest son, Robert, a partiality that contributed to a rupture between William and his heir. The trouble arose over Robert's demands that he be invested with the duchies of Normandy and Maine, which William refused. While William was in England, and Robert and Matilda held the regency of Normandy, Robert spent his time fomenting discontent and organizing a faction against his father. In this conduct he was supported financially by his mother who "could refuse him nothing "⁵⁷ Eventually Robert embarked on rebellion, still supported by Matilda. When William discovered her treachery by intercepting a message carried by one of her servants, Agnes reports him to have said,

"Where in all the world could you have found a companion so faithful and devoted in his affection?... Behold my wife, she whom I have loved as my own soul, to whom I have confided the government of my realms, my treasure, and all that I possessed in the world of power and greatness - she hath supported mine adversary against me. She hath strengthened and enriched him from the wealth which I confided to her keeping. She hath secretly employed her zeal and subtlety in his cause, and done everything she could to encourage him against me!"⁵⁸

Matilda's reply was founded on maternal love, and William's vengeance was to

⁵⁶ QE., I, p.6.

⁵⁷ QE., I, p.95.

⁵⁸ QE., I, p.96. The source cited for the speech is Ordericus Vitalis's Ecclesiastical History. The passage quoted by Agnes is very similar to that found in Thomas Forester's translation, The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy, 4 vols. (1853), II, p.174. The Stricklands probably did not do their own translating of Latin. Agnes mentions Mary Campbell and the Rev. Mr. Milne as her translators for vol. IV of the Queens of Scotland, Nat.Lib.Scot., MS. 4727, f. 187.

sentence the messenger, whom he had intercepted, to blindness. Once again Matilda managed to obstruct William by enabling the messenger to escape. In spite of such infidelity and meddling on the part of Matilda, Agnes could speculate on their marriage relationship in an idealistic manner:

It does not appear that William's affection for Matilda suffered any material diminution in consequence of these transactions, neither would he permit any one to censure her conduct in his presence. She was the love of his youth, the solace of his meridian hours of life, and she preserved her empire over his mighty heart to the last hour of her life.⁵⁹

Adelicia of Louvaine did not find perfect bliss, but she did all in her power to provide happiness for "her lord" as the second wife of Henry I. After having expressed some doubt as to whether or not Adelicia was happy, because of the disparity in years between her and Henry, his irascibility of temper, and his disappointment at the want of children by his second marriage, the biographer reports, again conjecturally:

Whatever, however, were the trials with which Adelicia had to contend, she evidently supported them with silent magnanimity, and at the same time endeavoured to soothe and cheer the gloom of her wayward lord by attracting to the court the most distinguished poets and minstrels of the age, who repaid her liberal patronage by celebrating her virtues and her charms.⁶⁰

After Henry's death she married William de Albini, by whom she had seven children, but, after eleven years of marriage, she entered a nunnery. Elizabeth's comment on this action again reveals a Victorian bias for wedded happiness:

⁵⁹CE., I, p.98. Wm. Stubbs says that it is "rather a strong effort to suppose in the case of kings and queens in the fifteenth century" that they had any family affections at all. "The Reign of Henry VII," Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects (Oxford, 1900), pp.384-404. The speculations of the Stricklands about earlier centuries are even more dubious.

⁶⁰CE., I, p.234. No source is given.

Strange as it appears to us, that any one who was at the very summit of earthly felicity should have broken through such fond ties of conjugal and maternal love as those by which Adélicia was surrounded, to bury herself in cloistered seclusion, there is indubitable evidence that such was the fact....⁶¹

The relationship between Henrietta Maria and Charles I provides a seventeenth-century example of conjugal bliss. Their happiness was marred once early in their married life when Charles discovered that Henrietta had been corresponding with her mother, Marie de Médicis, on the subject of religion. Henrietta's biographer concludes her account of the incident with yet another statement containing clichés on the domestic scene:

This was almost the last difference that ruffled the wedded happiness of the royal pair, and, during their future years, the fondest attachment succeeded to the gusty passion which prompted them to a series of lovers' quarrels in the first days of their marriage. An increasing and lovely family cemented their conjugal union. Henrietta was a fond mother, and devoted much of her time to her nursery.⁶²

Deviations from the ideal had to be faced in the lives of Isabella of Angoulême, Catharine of Braganza, Mary of Modena, and Mary I, but in each case the fault rests with the husband. Charles II's penchant for mistresses contributed to an unpleasant marriage with Catharine and the most the biographer could do in such a situation was to praise "the meekness and forbearance of the ill-treated queen,"⁶³ her purity, innocence, and integrity, and to condemn "that bold bad woman," Lady Castlemaine.⁶⁴ The marriage of James II and Mary of Modena provided more fruitful ground, even though there was again infidelity:

It was not till she had been his wife six years, that James appears to have been sensible of the value of the prize he had drawn in the matrimonial lottery, and that she was possessed of qualifications more worthy of admiration than those external graces which had been celebrated by the most distinguished poets of the age.⁶⁵

⁶¹QE., I, p.254.

⁶³QE., VIII, p.352.

⁶⁵QE., IX, p.110.

⁶²QE., VIII, p.63.

⁶⁴QE., VIII, p.330.

There are many more blissful marital relationships in the Queens of England, and at least one nineteenth-century reviewer noted the frequency with which they occur:

But as a general rule, Miss Strickland's queens are very happy wives, and 'fond love' and 'conjugal tenderness' are very common phrases in these volumes. Grim middle-aged kings, and widows at their third or fourth marrying, are not quite fitting subjects for the sentimental language of romance.... One would suppose, to read these histories, that there was no school like a court for inculcating the domestic virtues; and that so far from being hindered or burdened by the cares of state, the royal matron was almost invariably the flower and perfection of matrons; not only a good queen, but a model wife and mother, an example to her humbler and less encumbered subjects.

Agnes and Elizabeth concurred with Lady Morgan and other traditional feminists of the period in the opinion that woman had a greater moral sensibility than man. In her life of Katharine of Arragon Elizabeth states that "the conduct of a man is almost invariably influenced by the moral qualities of the woman who has his heart in her keeping."⁶⁷ In many instances in the series this moral power of woman is credited with humanitarian projects and acts of mercy by the monarch.

The occasion for one act of mercy in the reign of Henry VIII came in May, 1516, when the apprentices in London rioted and attacked the establishments of many foreign merchants. The Duke of Norfolk exercised martial law and hanged several of the boys. Others were taken captive and their mothers assumed that they were to be executed:

Calling together all their female relatives, they went to the palace, and with streaming eyes raised such a piteous wail for mercy, that the queen heard the cry of maternal agony in the retirement of her chamber.

⁶⁶ Mrs. M. Oliphant, "Modern Light Literature - History," Blackwoods Magazine, LXXVIII (1855), p. 437-51. The article is identified in The Autobiography and Letters of Mrs. M.O.W. Oliphant (1899), in a list of her contributions to Blackwoods.

⁶⁷ QE., IV, p.118.

She summoned her sister queens, Margaret of Scotland, and Mary of France, to her aid; they flew with dishevelled hair to the king, and, kneeling before him, begged for pity on the misguided boys. Every one was struck with the benevolence of Queen Katharine, because the rioters had directed their fury against her nation.⁶⁸

Although officially the apprentices were forgiven by the King upon Wolsey's advice, the biographer draws upon a ballad, which was "current more than half a century later,"⁶⁹ in order to construct a romantic view of the Queen making traditional gestures. The Stricklands believed that such ballads were of great value to the historian:

No one who studies history ought to despise tradition, for we shall find that tradition is generally founded on fact, even when defective, or regardless of chronology.

Matilda of Scotland provides an even better example of the Strickland tendency to stress humanitarianism. Agnes, finding such passages as the following in The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester,

Heo was wurþe to be icluped. Mold þe gode quene.
Vor alle þe godnesse. þat heo dude. here to engelande.
He mowe noȝt alle be here ywrite. ne of o mon vnderstonde,⁷¹

elaborates on her source, adding epithets calculated to please her Victorian readers:

This princess, the subject of our present memoir, is distinguished among the many illustrious females that have worn the crown matrimonial of England, by the title of 'the good queen;' a title which, eloquent in its simplicity, briefly implies that she possessed not only the great and shining qualities calculated to add lustre to a throne, but that she employed them in promoting ^{the happiness of all classes of her subjects, according} at the same time a bright example of the lovely and endearing attributes which should adorn the female character.⁷²

⁶⁸QE., IV, p.108.

⁶⁹Garrett Mattingly, Catherine of Aragon (1942), p.136. Mattingly writes that the official version of the pardon notes Henry's clemency and Wolsey's advice, but he also quotes a few lines of the ballad.

⁷⁰QE., new edition, I [1844], p.315.

⁷¹Edited by Wm. Aldis Wright, 2 vols. (1887), II, p.641, ll.8977-9. Matilda's deeds are not specified in the Chronicle.

⁷²QE., I, p.136.

As proof of this statement the biography reveals Queen Matilda "endearing herself daily more and more to the people by her works of princely charity, and the public benefits which she was constantly labouring to promote."⁷³ She is credited with building the first arched bridge ever known in England, Bow Bridge over the river Lea, in gratitude for her preservation during difficult fording. She is cited as the founder of a hospital at St. Giles in the Fields and as the superintendant of the building at New Windsor.⁷⁴ The biographer also writes that everything good that was accomplished during Henry I's reign, "all the reforms effected by his enlightened government, all the good laws which his enlarged views of political economy taught that wise monarch to adopt, were attributed by that portion of his subjects [the Anglo-Saxons] to the beneficial influence of his young queen,"⁷⁵ but she does not mention a source for her statement.

Anne of Bohemia is declared "a nursing mother of the reformation" because she had read the Bible in her native tongue,⁷⁶ and allegedly played a part in saving the life of Wickliffe when he was endangered by the Council of Lambeth in 1382:

No earthly power excepting that of Anne over the mind of her adoring husband could have saved the proto-reformer of England from the malice of Archbishop Courtney, a furious persecutor, raging for his destruction.⁷⁷

This example of intercession appears to have been wholly fabricated by the

⁷³QE, I, p.190.

⁷⁴QE, I, pp. 176, 187.

⁷⁵QE, I, p.173. There is no source given for this statement, but in Lives of the III Normans, Kings of England (1613), by John Hayward, her charity and learning are mentioned and her building of the bridge over the Lea, pp. 304-5.

⁷⁶QE, II, p.409. John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, 4th edition, 8 vols. (n.d.), III, p.202, reports that Anne of Bohemia had the four gospels in English.

⁷⁷QE, II, p.410. In Biographica Britannica, VI, (1763), pp.4257-66, the Queen-Mother, Joanna, is mentioned as having given him some support in 1378.

biographer, for her source, Biographia Britannica, makes no mention of Anne or any other ladies saving Wickliffe's life. Queen Anne was also a mediator in 1392 when Richard II withdrew the charter of the city of London after he had been refused the loan of money and a willing money-lender had been torn to pieces by angry citizens. The city applied to Anne to mediate for them and she succeeded in pacifying the King and getting him to pass through the city on August 29th, at which time she was greatly honoured by the lord mayor who presented her with a white palfrey because she was one "whom God hath destined worthily to sway the sceptre as consort of our king!"⁷⁸

Many more examples of the moral and humanitarian influence of queens could be cited,⁷⁹ but some consorts exercised political power as well. Matilda of Scotland again provides a good example of the Strickland tendency to exaggerate. Once more, two lines from Robert of Gloucester - *Monie were þe gode lawes. inad in engelonde. / þoru hold þis gode quene. as ich vnder stonde.*⁸⁰ - result in a very comprehensive statement:

Robert of Gloucester, from first to last, speaks of Queen Matilda as an active agent in the government of England, and the restorer and upholder of the Saxon form of legislature, whose system was that of a representative constitution.⁸¹

Agnes assumes that the government of the realm was left "in the prudent hands of Matilda" whenever Henry I was out of the country and that,

⁷⁸ OE., II, p.420. Elizabeth's source is Ricardi Maydston, De Concordia Inter Ric. II. Et Civitatem London, ed. Thomas Wright (1838), p.39. He gives an account of an address to the Queen and the presentation of the white palfrey. H. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century. 1307-1399 (Oxford, 1959), pp.467-8, reveals that the quarrel with the Londoners was more complicated, but that money was at the root of the problem. The reconciliation in 1392 was celebrated by the procession which Maidstone has described in his Latin poem.

⁷⁹ Similar charitable and conciliatory acts are related in the lives of Margaret of France, Berengaria of Navarre, Philippa of Hainault, Joanna of Navarre, Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Woodville, and Elizabeth of York.

⁸⁰ Metrical Chronicle, II, p. 624, ll. 8750-1.

⁸¹ OE., I, pp. 191-2.

the profound tranquillity that subsisted in her husband's dominions during his frequent absences in Normandy, is a proof that Matilda understood the art of domestic government, and practised it with a happier effect than the first Anglo-Norman sovereigns, whose reigns were so greatly disturbed by insurrections.⁸²

She offers no sources for such statements, but, in any case, the authors of The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta report that any regency Matilda might have held would have been purely nominal:

In all probability the occasions were not very frequent or of very great duration, for when the king was overseas and there was no royal regent, Bishop Roger [the justiciar] issued writs in his own name, and such writs are much more commonly found than writs in the name of a royal figurehead.⁸³

Among the early queens Eleanor of Aquitaine, Duchess in her own right, was powerful politically,⁸⁴ and, of course, the queens-regnant, Mary I, Elizabeth I, Mary II, and Anne, were fully involved in political events. They need not be dealt with here because the purpose of this portion of the chapter is to reveal examples of the influence attributed to queens over their husbands and the tendency to portray them fulfilling the roles of men.

In connection with the latter characteristic of the series, queens are sometimes presented as military leaders. Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI, occupied a significant role in the Wars of the Roses, especially while the king was mentally ill. Much of the effort to organize and rally the Lancastrian forces depended on her, but Agnes places her in the front line of battle, pushing on and forcing her way through "with dauntless intrepidity."⁸⁵ According to

⁸²QE., I, p.185.

⁸³H.C. Richardson and G.O. Sayles (Edinburgh, 1963), p.163.

⁸⁴Elizabeth writes about Eleanor's regency in vol. I, pp.369 and 376, and Amy Kelly, Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings (1952), pp.249-54, confirms her political effectiveness.

⁸⁵QE., III, pp.308-9.

John Lingard, whom Agnes employs as a source for her account, the Lancastrians were led by earls and dukes of the northern shires; the Queen arrived after the battle of Wakefield and was presented with the head of her enemy.⁸⁶

Elizabeth also attributes key military roles to two queens. In 1513, when Henry VIII invaded France, he entrusted Katharine of Arragon with the regency:

Like Philippa, Katharine had to repel a Scottish invasion; and it is no little honour to female government that the two greatest victories won against the Scots, those of Neville's Cross and Flodden field, were gained during the administration of queens.⁸⁷

Katharine apparently was instrumental in organizing the defence of the country, thus providing her biographer with a valid example of female achievement.⁸⁸

Since one of the Stricklands' purposes was to show that the English queens were "instruments in the hands of God, for the advancement of civilization," they stressed royal interest in and encouragement of the arts, education, and the founding of schools whenever they could, as well as pointing out that the queens were themselves learned women. But this aspect of the biographies becomes suspect to some degree when one reads Agnes's comments on "schools, colleges, and public foundations for the instruction of youth" in the days of William the Conqueror.⁸⁹ Such statements evince a tendency to picture Victorian institutions in the middle ages. Certainly, the frequency with which the Strickland sisters relate the cultural activities of queens reveals a great

⁸⁶The History of England, 5th edition, 10 vols. (1849), IV, pp. 131-2.

⁸⁷QE., IV, p.102.

⁸⁸Mattingly, Catherine of Aragon, pp.120-2, confirms that Catherine played an important part in ruling the country and organizing the defeat of the Scottish invaders while Henry was in France.

⁸⁹QE., I, p.78.

eagerness to acquaint readers with female achievements, and perhaps, like Mary Hays and Mrs. Sandford, to encourage women readers to pursue similar activities.

Matilda of Scotland was educated in the nunnery of Rugsey where she was instructed in reading and good manners, and in "all the learning of the age."⁹⁰

"Her love [of music] amounted almost to a passion" and she was censured for her liberality toward "monks who sang skilfully in the church service."⁹¹

Agnes's source for this comment on Matilda's generosity is James Tyrrell's General History of England, but she extracted from Tyrrell's statement, rather cautiously, only what suited her purpose:

...her only fault (in William of Malmesbury's opinion) was her being too bountiful to Strangers, especially Monks, who could sing skilfully the Church-Service, by which as well as other needless liberalities she often ran in debt, and by her exagting Officers, wrack'd and oppress'd her poor Tenants to pay it.⁹²

Adelicia of Louvaine conformed to the interests of her husband by being tutored in zoology; a special work was written for her by Philippe de Thuan on the nature of animals.⁹³ But Elizabeth claims that Adelicia herself had literary ambitions. Basing her statement on lines from Geffrei Gaimar's Lestorie des Engles:

She caused a great book to be made of it, [Henry's life]
The first verse noted for singing.
Well spoke Davit and well he composed,
And well he arranged the music.⁹⁴

she suggests that "the collection of Queen Adelicia," should it be discovered,

⁹⁰OE., new edition, I [1844], p.133. Her education is verified in Ordericus Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History, III, p.13, and in Robert of Gloucester, Metrical Chronicle, II, p.638, but there is no mention of "all the learning of the age" in either source.

⁹¹OE., 1st edition, I, p.150.

⁹²The General History of England, 3 vols. (1696-1804), I, p.156.

⁹³OE., I, p.220.

⁹⁴Ed. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and Charles T. Martin, 2 vols., translation (1889), II, pp.204-5.

would form "a curious specimen of the biographical powers of the illustrious widow, and her assistant, Troubadour David..."⁹⁵ the Troubadour is given a subsidiary role and Adelmia becomes more than the patroness of the romance.

Of all the earlier queens probably Eleanor of Aquitaine had the most outstanding ability, but the Strickland report of her activities again shows the imposition of nineteenth-century terms on medieval culture:

She was, by hereditary right, chief reviewer and critic of the poets of Provence. At certain festivals held by her after the custom of her ancestors, called Courts of Love, all new servantes and chansons were sung or recited before her by the troubadours. She then, assisted by a conclave of her ladies, sat in judgement and pronounced sentence on their literary merits. She was herself a popular troubadour poet. Her chansons were remembered long after death had raised a barrier⁹⁶ against flattery, and she is reckoned among the authors of France.

Being Duchess of Aquitaine, Eleanor was the subject of many dedications, but, as William Stubbs says, "As for her judgements in the Courts of Love, I suppose, we may safely relegate them to the regions of romance, and if they were authentic, they would not prove much as to her literary culture."⁹⁷

By the time the Tudors came to the throne of England, the renaissance had begun to affect most of Europe. As a result of the views of men like Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and the Spanish scholar Luis Vives, there were new opportunities for the education of women, and the queens and princesses of the time were among the first to receive the benefits of this new emphasis on learning. Especially in the lives of Katharine of Arragon, Katharine Parr, and

⁹⁵Q.E., I, p.244.

⁹⁶Q.E., I, pp.310-11. Amy Kelly writes of the importance of poetry at the court of Aquitaine and of the great number of dedications to Eleanor, but there is, of course, no mention of her as a critic and reviewer. She was addressed in accordance with the cult of courtly love. Eleanor of Aquitaine, pp. 86-7.

⁹⁷Stubbs, "Learning and Literature at the Court of Henry II," Seventeen Lectures, pp. 132-55.

Elizabeth, the Stricklands had many scholastic and literary achievements to report,⁹⁸ and the examples these queens provided did much to bring about the gradual relaxation of the feudal restrictions on the rights and activities of women.

Another characteristic that makes the Queens of England especially suitable for women readers is the great interest in female dress and the traditional skill in needlework. This trait parallels the general content of the Lady's Magazine and the Court Journal which dwelt on fashions, court ceremonies, and portraits of the nobility. Every life contains several examples of such subject-matter which the Stricklands directed towards their female readers. Comments such as the following reveal that they were fully aware that this type of information would be tedious to men:

The history of royal costume, when interspersed with characteristic traits of the times in which the antique fashions, which now survive only on the pictured canvas, or illuminated vellum, were worn, has been of late so popular a study with the ladies, that, for the sake of that gentle portion of the readers of the "Lives of the Queens of England," a few more extracts from the wardrobe memorandums of Queen Elizabeth may, perhaps, be ventured without displeasing antiquarian students, since the source whence they are derived is only⁹⁹ accessible through the courtesy of the learned possessor of the MS.

Descriptions of dress worn by queens at weddings, coronations, christenings, and on progresses are always included, sometimes occupying several pages with accounts of the queen's attendants and the order of the procession. A

⁹⁸ Katharine of Arragon, whose learning is reported by Erasmus, commissioned Luis Vives to write De Institutio Christianae Feminae (1524) for her daughter Mary. Katharine Parr wrote The Lamentations of a Sinner; her achievements are reported by John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 3 vols. (1822), II, pt.1, p.203. Elizabeth's learning and wit are well known.

⁹⁹ Op., VI, pp.445-6.

sketch of Katharine of Arragon after her marriage is much shorter than the average:

She had been married but a few days, and was attired as a bride, in white embroidered satin; her hair, which was black and very beautiful, hung at length down her back, almost to her feet; she wore on her head a coronal set with many rich orient stones. The queen, thus attired, as a royal bride, was seated in a litter of white cloth of gold, borne by two white horses.¹⁰⁰

The Stricklands also described portraits and effigies of queens if these existed, and, if they had been fortunate enough to see more than one portrait of a queen, each was given ample consideration at an appropriate point in the chronology. Part of a description of a painting of Katharine Parr will give an indication of the Strickland method:

The original miniature of this queen, which has recently attracted much interest during the sale of Horace Walpole's collections at Strawberry Hill, represents her with very small and delicately-marked features, hazel eyes, and golden hair, folded in simple Madonna bands. Her forehead is lofty and serene, indicative of talent and sprightly wit. She wears a round crimson velvet hood, or cap of state, edged with pearls, and surmounted with a jewelled band of goldsmith's work, set with rubies and pearls, which confines a long black veil, that flows from the back of the head-dress over the shoulders. The bodice and sleeves of the dress are made of rich gold brocade, and set tight to the shape. The bodice is cut square across the bust, like the corsage of a modern dress, and is edged with a row of pearls....¹⁰¹

This kind of information is certainly one of the unique features of the Strickland biographies; it gives their work a special quality which did not interest most other historians, but which must have played an important part in attracting a significantly large reading public.

Another facet of this interest in feminine subject-matter is the introduction of new fashions to England by foreign queens. Elizabeth credits

¹⁰⁰QE., IV, pp.93-4.

¹⁰¹QE., V, p.42.

Isabella of Castille with the use of the first tapestries in this country.¹⁰²

Anne of Bohemia introduced the horned cap, which was the head dress of Bohemian ladies, and side-saddles.¹⁰³ In the reign of Elizabeth, while John of Sweden was at court to offer New Year's greetings,

...her majesty's silk-woman, mistress Montague, brought her for her new year's gift a pair of knit black silk stockings. The queen, after wearing them for a few days, was so much pleased with them, that she sent for mistress Montague, and asked her, "From whence she had them? and if she could help her to any more?"

"I made them very carefully on purpose only for your majesty," she said, "and seeing these please you so well, I will presently set more in hand."

"Do so," replied the queen, "for indeed, I like silk stockings well, because they are pleasant, fine, and delicate, and henceforth I will wear no more cloth stockings."¹⁰⁴

In addition to specific examples of new fashions, the Stricklands keep the reader informed about the dress of each period by including excerpts from privy-purse listings and wardrobe rolls.

The final example of female-oriented subject-matter is the observation of the proficiency of queens in the feminine art of needle-craft. This skill was an important aspect of female education through the ages, and it was one of the preoccupations that some feminists objected to when society demanded other vocations of women.

The best illustration of the Strickland support of this accomplishment is Agnes's allegation that Matilda of Flanders and her ladies worked the famous pictorial document, the Bayeux tapestry. Her statement is purely conjectural:

It is probable that the wife of the Conqueror, and her Norman ladies, were materially assisted in this stupendous work of feminine skill and patience by some of the hapless daughters of the land, who, like the Grecian captives described by Homer, were employed in recording the story of their own reverses and the triumphs of their haughty foes.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³QE., II, p.407.

¹⁰⁴QE., VI, p.195.

¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁵QE., I, p.69.

In a footnote she admonishes contemporary historians like John Lingard, who attempted to deprive Matilda of credit for the work, to leave "the question of the Bayeux tapestry, (with all other matters allied to needle-craft,) to the decisions of the ladies, to whose province it peculiarly belongs."¹⁰⁶

Other queens were accomplished in this art, among them Katharine Parr, who had an early antipathy towards the needle but eventually attained such skill and industry in its use "that there are specimens of her embroidery at Sizergh Castle, which could scarcely have been surpassed by the far-famed stitcheries of the sisters of King Athelstan,"¹⁰⁷ and Elizabeth, who at the age of six, gave her brother Edward "a shirt of cambrie worked by her own hands... Thus early was this illustrious lady instructed in the feminine accomplishment of needlework, and directed to turn her labours in that way to a pleasing account."¹⁰⁸

Contemporary reviewers of the Queens of England took note of the feminine characteristics of the series and many were pleased that the Stricklands had done much research into their peculiar field of history.¹⁰⁹ As one might expect, some female critics were also delighted with the achievement of the sisters. Sarah J. Hale, an American woman, wrote about Agnes in Woman's Record (1853):

¹⁰⁶ QE., new edition, I [1844], p.58. Lingard replied to Agnes in an appendix in the 5th edition of The History of England, I, p.549, in which he dismisses any suggestion that Matilda was involved with the Tapestry: "Hence, in the absence of all historical evidence, of all ancient tradition, and of any proof to be derived from the tapestry itself, it is difficult to conceive on what ground it is so confidently and pertinaciously attributed to the queen of the Conqueror."

¹⁰⁷ QE., 1st edition, V, p.8.

¹⁰⁸ QE., VI, p.13.

¹⁰⁹ A commentary on contemporary opinion may be found in chapter IV.

Her "Queens of England" have induced many to whom stronger diet would have been unpalatable to gain a respectable knowledge of the leading facts of English history. For her own sex her work is not only of deep interest, but must prove in many ways highly beneficial. Her own unwearied industry is an example of much importance; the devotion of her talents to a great subject is another commendable trait in her character; and the success attending her labours has a wide influence for good.¹¹⁰

H.A. Stodart, author of Female Writers: Thoughts on their Proper Sphere and on their Powers of Usefulness (1842) also had words of tribute to Agnes Strickland for the honour she had brought "to her age, her sex, and her country."¹¹¹ She felt that biography was a suitable subject for female authors because of the characteristics of the female mind: delicacy with regard to morals, exquisite tact, the power of entering into minute detail, quickness of sympathy, and elegance of taste.¹¹²

Although specific comments by women who had read the series are scarce, four other women have left their impressions in print. Mary Russell Mitford, a well-known contemporary of the Stricklands and joint recipient with Agnes of an honorary membership in a new Literary Institute founded by J.S. Buckingham in 1843,¹¹³ wrote, "I have great respect for Miss Strickland, both for her great industry and acquirements and the use she makes of them - excellent books..."¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰Woman's Record; or Sketches of All Distinguished Women, From 'The Beginning' Till A.D. 1850 (New York, 1853), pp.798-800.

¹¹¹p. 131.

¹¹²"Mental Faculties of Women," pp. 14-25. Mrs. Milner also writes about the special capabilities of women in connection with historical biography and she mentions the works of Agnes Strickland, "The Influence of English Women on English Literature, no. III. Female writers, from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," The English Woman's Magazine and Christian Mother's Miscellany, I (1846), 290-9.

¹¹³Vera Watson, Mary Russell Mitford (n.d.), p. 263.

¹¹⁴Letters of Mary Russell Mitford, ed. Henry Chorley, 2 vols. (1872), II, p. 25.

Another contemporary and the famous founder of North London Collegiate for girls, Mary Frances Buss, when she was thirteen years old "saved up her money to buy each volume of Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England as it came out, and stole away to enjoy it by herself, reading slowly and carefully, and making notes as she went along."¹¹⁵ And at the beginning of the twentieth century Peggy Webbling, who, along with her sisters, achieved some fame as a member of a minor theatrical group, was affected in this manner:

Politics and Agnes Strickland's 'Lives of the Queens of England' rather oddly jostled each other for possession of her mind. Sometimes Gladstone was in front, sometimes Matilda of Flanders; sometimes Charles Stewart Parnell, sometimes Eleanor of Aquitaine.

I used to borrow Miss Strickland's books, a volume at a time, from a friend in Kensington, and became so absorbed that it took me over an hour to walk down Palace Gardens, because I stood still at intervals to read.

For a long time I entertained Lucy with stories of the different queens, for my knowledge of ancient Court Scandals (carefully edited for little Lucy) was really amazing. I took it all in without question of doubt, the only parts of that most unsuitable 'book for the young' that now remain in my memory being the description of the Bayeux tapestry and the authors painstaking attempt to whitewash James II.¹¹⁶

Anne Thackeray Ritchie mentions Agnes once in her letters and reveals that she too was affected by the romance element in the work:

Awoke very tired and drowsy and read Tales from Spenser's Faery Queen, and considered that I too might be a Knight to a certain degree and that I was certainly wasting my time in the Castle of Indolence at that very moment. It was Miss Agnes Strickland, who had suggested a new phase of existence to me the night before.¹¹⁷

Though printed comments by nineteenth-century women are few in number, emulators of the Strickland success are not. The contemporary popularity of the Queens of England seems to have suggested to other literary ladies that there

¹¹⁵ Amy Cruse, The Victorians and Their Books (1935), p. 345.

¹¹⁶ Peggy Webbling, Peggy (1924), p. 90.

¹¹⁷ Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie, ed. Heather Ritchie (1924), p. 109.

was a profitable genre to be exploited in the memoirs of queens and other famous ladies, and the same view must have been held by Henry Colburn, for he was the publisher of seven biographical books by and about women in addition to the Strickland series. The following list is a partial selection of books issued while the Stricklands were producing their two series on English and Scottish queens: Mrs. Forbes Bush, Memoirs of the Queens of France, 2 vols. (Henry Colburn, 1843); Mrs. Elwood, Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England, 2 vols. (Henry Colburn, 1843); Hannah Lawrance, The History of Woman in England (Colburn, 1843); Louisa Stuart Costello, Memoirs of Eminent English Women, 2 vols. (Richard Bentley, 1844); Mary Anne Everett Green, Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain, 3 vols. (Colburn, 1846); M.A.E. Green, Lives of the Princesses of England, 6 vols. (Colburn, 1849-55); Anita George, Memoirs of the Queens of Spain, 2 vols. (Bentley, 1850); Biographical Sketches of the Queens of Great Britain, edited by Mary Howitt (H.C. Bohn, 1851); Mrs. M. Hall, The Queens Before the Conquest, 2 vols. (Colburn, 1854); Mrs. M. Hall, The Royal Princesses of England, From the Reign of George I (G. Routledge, 1858); Emma Atkinson, Memoirs of the Queens of Prussia (W. Kent, 1858).¹¹⁸ Together with the publications of the Strickland sisters these biographies by and about women constitute a minor phenomenon of nineteenth-century book-making.

In the light of the above list of publications and statements by Victorian women, the comments of reviewers, and the feminine emphasis of the Queens of England, it seems valid to assume that the series owed much of its popularity to its appeal to women readers, that it may have had a significant effect on the

¹¹⁸ A longer list is included in the bibliography.

development of female attitudes during the century, and that it enabled some women authors to see the possibility of turning their attentions to more serious writing than they had been accustomed to.

CHAPTER IV

The Popularity of
Lives of the Queens of England

Henry Colburn, the publisher of Lives of the Queens of England and many other volumes by and about women, was a shrewd judge of popular taste¹ and a leader in the introduction of advertising to the publishing trade.² He was also noted for the generosity of his offers to authors,³ although his dealings with the Strickland sisters suggest that he would take advantage of persons uninformed about publishing agreements when he saw the opportunity to do so. Brief accounts of Colburn's career and practices indicate that he was a notorious but influential figure in the nineteenth-century publishing trade;⁴

¹Michael Sadleir, XIX Century Fiction (Cambridge, 1951), p. 112.

²Leslie Marchand, The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture (Chapel Hill, 1941), Chapter 2, pp. 122-39. Marchand outlines Colburn's practices, including his tendency to suggest that novels and memoirs gave accounts of scandal, and his practice of having authors themselves or their friends write reviews of their works. Excerpts from these reviews would be sent to provincial newspapers in order to "puff" a particular publication. A.J. Collins, The Profession of Letters (1923), p. 192, reports that Colburn spent £9000 a year on advertising during the early 1830's.

³M.W. Ross, The Silver-Fork School of Fiction (New York, 1936), p. 188.

⁴Colburn began his career with William Earle, a bookseller in Albemarle Street, and he later worked for Morgan's circulating library. By 1807 he was issuing books under his own name from 50 Conduit Street. Michael Sadleir, who gives a brief sketch of Colburn's life in his XIX Century Fiction, illustrates the shrewdness of Colburn's estimate of popular taste by pointing out that he was the first to exploit English interest in French works immediately after the Napoleonic wars. Colburn was very prominent in the publication of periodical literature. In 1814 he entered the field by sponsoring the New Monthly Magazine in opposition to the Monthly Magazine. In 1817 he founded the Literary Gazette. He had partial control of the Sunday Times, a brief investment in the Athenaeum, and full control of the United Service Journal and the Court Journal which he started in 1829.

some of his particular interests were important to the production and popularity of the Queens of England.

Whenever the rise of the novel in the eighteen-thirties is discussed, and especially the novels of the "silver-fork school" of fiction, the name of Henry Colburn is sure to appear. In 1829 Colburn signed an agreement making Richard Bentley his partner,⁵ and one of their projects was the publication of a series of Standard Novels. Their intention was to produce a series of classics, but difficulties concerning copyright forced them to concentrate on recent fiction.⁶ After the dissolution of the Colburn-Bentley partnership in September, 1832,⁷ Bentley successfully continued the series under his own name, publishing books by Fenimore Cooper, Mrs. Gore, Bulwer-Lytton, and others. Colburn founded his own series of Modern Novelists, including in it the works of Lady Morgan, Plumer Ward, Bulwer-Lytton, T.H. Lister, Theodore Hook, Lady Charlotte Eury, and others. Many of these novels were concerned with characters and incidents of "high life" or fashionable life. Even before his agreement with Bentley, Colburn was noted for his publication of fashionable literature. The 1828 volume of the Athenaeum contains an article on "Mr. Colburn's List"⁸ which reveals that the list included sixty-five books, among them memoirs, diaries, travelogues, and novels. The writer of the article did not discuss any specific books, but he mentioned that the list referred to seventy-four volumes of "high-life literature," the novels customarily consisting of three volumes each. He noted that "Mr. Colburn is a fashionable publisher, and, perhaps, is the best gauger of public taste in existence."

⁵Royal Gottmann, A Victorian Publisher (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 20-21.

⁶Ibid., p. 47.

⁷Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁸Athenaeum, 1 (Sept. 17, 1828), . 735-36.

Colburn's awareness of the profits to be derived from literature of fashionable life is also indicated by his publication of The Court Journal, A Record of Manners, Literature, Science, Art, and Fashion.⁹ This periodical stressed fashion more than any of the other topics. For example, the index to the 1832 volume contains nine titles beginning with "fashion" or "fashionable." A glance at some of the other titles - "Beauties of the Court of George IV," "Anecdotes of the Court of Charles X," "Interior Residences of English Nobility and Gentry," "The Omnipotence of Fashion" - serves to show that the Journal concentrated on movements of the English court and nobility, occurrences in foreign courts, aristocratic social functions, homes, dress, and particular personalities. The Court Journal seems especially designed to appeal to female readers, but it did not offer much that could be designated as feminist. Many of the contributions were by women, and Colburn was pleased with this fact as well as with feminine interest in his new journal. In a colloquy between the editor and the publisher,¹⁰ Colburn is reported to have said,

Indeed - the manner - in which my female friends have supported me at this moment forms the most agreeable reminiscence in my life. I may tell you, in confidence, that it positively has not been in my power to admit scarcely a single male contribution. I need not observe to Rivartinos, that if this would only continue, the influence of the Journal all over Europe would be actually incalculable.

It would seem, then, that Colburn recognized in literature about royalty, aristocracy, and fashionable life a rewarding venture and one particularly suited to feminine taste. The novels he published and the Court Journal would have appealed to ladies of the middle class who were anxious to gain some

⁹Journals such as The Court Journal and the Literary Gazette proved extremely useful to Colburn as advertising media.

¹⁰Court Journal, 1 (1829), . 49-51.

knowledge of the affairs of upper class society and perhaps to emulate them to some degree.¹¹

Yet more glimpses of royal and aristocratic society could be had by reading memoirs and biographies. Colburn's interest in the publication of such works dates back to his early career as a publisher and culminates in the publication of Lives of the Queens of England. In 1803 he published Memoirs of Female Philosophers, one of the earliest productions of his house. In the pages of advertising at the end of Lady Morgan's O'Donnell (1814), seven biographical works are listed including Memoirs of the Princess Royal of Russia, Musical Biography, and the lives of some famous men. The number of memoirs published by Colburn increased in the 1820's, but there does not appear to be a catalogue of Colburn books which would provide an accurate count. One list of his recent publications in the 1820 volume of the Literary Gazette (p. 592) contains the titles of thirteen biographical works and fourteen novels. Along with the increase in the number of biographies brought out by Colburn there came about an emphasis on a particular type of subject matter. It seems that, for Colburn, the memoir and biography eventually meant another facet of "high-life" literature, as did the novel. Frequently the titles of such volumes and their advertisements were suggestive of light literature with contents similar to the novels of scandal. Private Anecdotes of Foreign Courts was advertised with this notice from the Sun:

¹¹The author of Females of the Present Day (1831), a country lady, writes in her Introductory Observations about the contemporary tendency of each level in society to aspire to the one above, and when this last has been achieved, to forsake contact with those below. Curiosity about the way of life of other people is, of course, universal.

These volumes strongly remind us of Count Gramont's Memoirs; they possess the same warmth of colouring, the same slight and amusing sketches of character, - and, above all¹², the same unbounded rage for lively and good-humoured scandal.

Memoirs of the Private Life of Marie Antoinette (1823), The Life and Letters of the Empress Josephine (1828), and other books published by Colburn were meant to suggest very entertaining reading, although he published other biographies of a more serious nature as well.¹³

Queen Victoria From Her Birth to Her Bridal (1840), prepared by Agnes Strickland at Colburn's request to coincide with the royal wedding, is of the same class of publication as the memoir of fashionable life and the Court Journal. It was meant to provide as many details and anecdotes of royal life as could be gleaned from the press and from the author's personal observation of public occasions. It therefore traces as minutely as possible the progress of Victoria's growing-up, giving accounts of special occasions and significant dates in her life, the dress she wore for each event, progresses, anecdotes revealing character, information about members of the royal household, and details of the preparation and execution of the coronation and the wedding, both witnessed by the author. The book is panegyric, journalistic, and often exceedingly sentimental.

¹² Literary Gazette (1823). A similar advertisement for the Private Life of Marie Antoinette in the 1823 volume reads, "we have seldom perused so entertaining a work - it is a mirror of the most splendid court in Europe, at a time when monarchy had not been shorn of any of its beams..." An advertisement for the Memoirs of Viscountess Sunden, by Mrs. A.T. Thomson, in one of the volumes of the Queens of England states that "the amount of gossip and anecdote which in time accumulated upon her hands, can scarcely be conceived."

¹³ Colburn published Hazlitt's Spirit of the Age (1825), Burke's Peerage and Baronage (1826), and History of the Landed Gentry (1833), Perys' Diary (1825), Evelyn's Diary (1818), and Thomas Campbell's Frederick the Great (1843).

By 1837 Colburn was well qualified to surmise that a series on the queens of England would interest middle-class readers, for it would inform them about royal life in general and about queens in particular, whom one would expect to be the leaders in etiquette and fashion in each age. With the publication of the Queens of England began a period of exploitation of the vast number of subjects for royal female biography, and Colburn was the publisher of a significant number of them.¹⁴

Another aspect of the background of the Queens of England may be introduced by a reference to Colburn's career. During the period of his partnership with Richard Bentley they attempted to capitalize on the current programme to sell informative and entertaining literature by publishing The National Library of General Knowledge and The Library of Voyages and Travels. Their plans proved to be too ambitious and too late,¹⁵ for several similar series were already in production, among them Constable's Miscellany (1826), Murray's Family Library (1829), Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia (1830), and The Library of Useful Knowledge. Much of the credit for the movement to provide useful and entertaining knowledge for the people must go to Henry Brougham and The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The Library of Useful Knowledge was started in 1827 and The Library of Entertaining Knowledge in 1829 with the intention "to make men become better readers."¹⁶ Brougham and his colleagues did not confine the libraries to such books as would "make man

¹⁴Colburn's publication of biographies by and about women is ^{mentioned} discussed in the chapter on Victorian feminism.

¹⁵Gettmann, Victorian Publisher, p. 47.

¹⁶Quoted by Chester New, The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830 (Oxford, 1961), p. 354.

more useful in his work," but included subjects which "enabled a man to make discoveries that had a value for all men," and works that would give pleasure simply because they gave knowledge.¹⁷ Even works of the imagination were encouraged by the Society,¹⁸ but the libraries concentrated on science, mechanics, history, and biography. Three of its productions in the biographical category were Lives of Eminent Persons (1833), The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (4 vols., 1842-44),¹⁹ and Brougham's Lives of Men of Letters and Science, who flourished in the time of George III (2 vols., 1845). Brougham was extremely interested in getting people to read and in providing cheap literature for them.

Lives of the Queens of England was not cheap literature for the working classes; at 10s.6d. per volume it was far too expensive,²⁰ but it may be viewed as a part of the great movement to popularize knowledge.²¹ Agnes herself regarded her work in this way as an excerpt from the Introduction to the Queens of Scotland reveals:

The tastes of those who were the rising generation when the Waverley romances were the absorbing theme of interest in the literary world, have become matured. They require to have history rendered as agreeable without the mixture of fiction as with it; they desire to have it so written, without sacrificing truth to fastidiousness, that they may read it with their children, and that the whole family party shall be eager to resume the book when they gather round the work-table during the long winter evenings.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 352.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 353.

¹⁹ The Dictionary got only as far as the letter "A".

²⁰ The first three volumes were sold at 8s.6d., but at the fourth Colburn raised the price to 10s.6d. Nat.Lib.Scot., MS. 4091, f. 177.

²¹ In an essay entitled "Man and Nature: Some Artists' Views," Humphry House discusses the Victorian love of fact as one of the keys to an understanding of the age. He states that one of the attitudes that developed was "a sentimental love of fact, for the sake of what could be easily attached to it in the way of belief and feeling." Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians (1949). Certainly the Queens

Authors who feel as they ought to feel, should rejoice in seeing their productions capable of imparting pleasure to the simple as well as the refined; for a book which pleases only one grade of society may be fashionable, but cannot be called popular. That which interests peasants as well as peers, and is read with equal zest by children and parents, and is often seen in the hands of the operative classes, speaks to the heart in a language intelligible to a widely-extended circle of humanity, has written its own review, and needs no other. (p. xvii)

As a work "popular" in intention the Queens of England may have reached some readers amongst mechanics and clerks through circulating libraries and Mechanics' Institutes,²² but in the women of the middle classes it found a special group for which it did popularize historical information. Sarah Hale wrote of this function in her Woman's Record,²³ and

~~Her 'Queens of England' have induced many to whom stronger diet would have been unpalatable to gain a respectable knowledge of the leading facts of English history. For her own sex her work is not only of deep interest, but must prove in many ways highly beneficial. Her own unwearied industry is an example of much importance; the devotion of her talents to a great subject is another commendable trait in her character; and the success attending her labours has a wide influence for good.~~²³

Miss H. Stodart suggested that the study of history and biography would improve the female mind and strengthen a woman's judgement.²⁴

Another relevant factor in the popular appeal of the Queens of England is that it provided entertaining and instructive reading for people who disapproved of fiction. The prominence of the Evangelical attitude to some fiction could have brought some readers to the Strickland series because it was founded on fact and yet had some of the tone and characteristics of the romance.²⁵ Its

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of England helps to verify House's view, for it clothes historical facts in the language of romance and sentimentality and therefore, as the letters of readers indicate, often evoked a very emotional response.

²² Lives of the Queens of England and other biographical works by the Stricklands are listed in the Catalogue of the Principal Books in circulation at Mudie's Select Library. January, 1876.

²³ "Agnes Strickland," pp. 593-600.

²⁴ Female Writers (1842), pp. 124-25.

²⁵ Richard Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957), p. 121, discusses the Evangelical attitude to fiction.

didactic quality would also have been approved of by religious groups.²⁶

Most Victorian readers seem to have had a taste for multi-volumed works and this is certainly another feature of the background of the Queens of England. The taste is revealed in the demand for the three-volume novel, the standard two-volume memoir, the libraries of knowledge and entertainment, and the massive histories by J.A. Froude, T.B. Macaulay, George Grote, and others. The various Strickland series, the productions of their female rivals, and other works such as John Campbell's The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England (8 vols., 1845-69) are also indicative of this aspect of literary taste.²⁷ The love of massive works is well stated by Mary Russell Mitford:

All my life I have delighted in voluminous works; in other words, I have delighted in that sort of detail which permits so intimate a familiarity with the subjects of which it treats. This fancy of mine seems opposed to the spirit of an age fertile in abridgements and selections. Add yet my taste is hardly, perhaps, so singular as it seems: witness the six volume biographies of Scott and Southey, which everybody wishes as long again as they are; witness the voluminous histories of single events - the Conquest of Peru and Mexico, by Mr. Prescott, the French Revolution of M. Thiers, the Girondins of M. de Lamartine. Even the most successful writers of modern fiction have found the magical effects of bringing the public into intimacy with their heroes. Hence Mr. Cooper... extended to fifteen volumes the adventures of Leather-Stocking....²⁸

²⁶ The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle, n.s., XVIII (1840), . 230, approves of the moral tendency of the series and the Strickland views on "the genius of popery."

²⁷ Perhaps the Strickland series in some measure sparked the production of such works as Campbell's Lives, J.H. Browne's Lives of the Prime Ministers of England (1853), which ceased after the publication of one volume, and James A. Mannings, The Lives of the Speakers of the House of Commons (1850).

²⁸ Recollections of a Literary Life, 3 vols. (1852), II, pp, 230-31. G.K. Chesterton, The Victorian Age in Literature (1914), p.132, mentions, in commenting on Trollope, "another side of the Victorian spirit of comfort; its leisureliness, its love of detail, especially of domestic detail; its love of following characters and kindred from book to book and from generation to generation." When Archibald Alison reviewed a Strickland work for Blackwood's he wished they had used less quotation and fewer letters, but he suggested "that is the fault of the age, not the author...." LXXXI (1852), 614-29.

Readers of the Queens of England were presented with detailed accounts of households, christenings, marriages, dress, and the movements of courts; most reviewers of the series regarded the accumulation of detail and the industry to which it gave evidence as one of the virtues of the work.

The first edition of the Queens of England (12 vols.) was published over a period of nine years, 1840-48, but before the series was completed new editions of some volumes were required. In 1841 a second edition, with corrections and additions, of volumes I-III was issued.²⁹ A new edition of volumes I-V and VII, with corrections and additions, was published in 1844 and 1845.³⁰ Presumably when he discovered the extent of the demand Colburn increased the number of copies of the first edition with the publication of volume VI in 1843. Before the Strickland sisters began to write the Queens of Scotland they again revised the Queens of England and in 1851-52 Colburn published an eight-volume new edition, greatly augmented, with portraits of every queen.³¹ Hurst and Blackett,

²⁹The Publisher's Circular, IV (1841), . 34, reports the 1841 volumes 1, 2, and 3 as "new edition," but I have seen volume one with "second edition, with corrections and additions."

³⁰Allibone's Dictionary of English Literature reports a new edition of volumes I-IX issued separately while the series was in progress, 1840-48, but I have been able to discover such a new edition of volumes I-V and VII only. These volumes form part of a set of the Queens of England in the Historical Institute of the University College Library, London. But apparently some volumes of this new edition were printed more than once and new types were set. My own set of volumes I-V bears the same title page and dates as those in the University College Library, but volumes I and II of my set are quite different in pagination from those in the Library. Some of the later volumes may also have been issued more than once. Volume VI, for example, first appeared in 1843 but was issued again in 1844 with the new date on the title page.

³¹The Stricklands continued to revise various lives as new editions were prepared. New information was submitted to them by readers and new acquaintances, and they discovered additional materials while engaged in research for succeeding volumes. Any such discoveries were incorporated at the appropriate point in the chronology. A comparison of the first edition and the 1851 edition of the life of Mary I reveals that alterations in content were of negligible significance. Additions

calling themselves Colburn's successors, issued a fourth edition, with all the late improvements in 1854.³² After Colburn's death his executor, John Forster,³³ paid the Longman Company a ten percent commission and production costs to publish the eight-volume edition in 1857. The Longman edition was kept in print until 1877³⁴ and the Commission Ledgers reveal that over fifteen thousand volumes or well over 1800 sets were sold during those years.³⁵ When Agnes purchased the copyright in 1863 she signed an agreement with Bell and Daldy, and a six-volume edition, carefully revised and augmented, was published in 1864-65 as part of Bohn's Historical Library. This was a cheap edition for which the Stricklands were to receive £50 per 1000 volumes sold. In July, 1865, Agnes wrote to Blackwood that she had received £300 for the first 1000 sets and expected to receive another £300 by the end of the year.³⁶ The six-volume edition was reprinted by G. Bell and Sons as late as 1910 and was on their list of books in print until 1922. In 1867 an abridged, one-volume edition was published by Bell and Daldy and reprinted as late as 1873. The Life of Queen Elizabeth was considered the most successful and most saleable volume and was therefore published separately in Hutchinson's Library of Standard Biographies in 1904, edited by Ida A. Taylor, and in Everyman's Library in 1906.

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were generally letters, or portraits to be described, or information concerning a locality which the queen had visited. Apart from such additions there were changes in paragraphing and punctuation, and some grammatical adjustments.

³²The exact number of different title pages seems to have been lost track of by the publishers.

³³John Forster (1812-76) was an editor and biographer. He wrote lives of Oliver Goldsmith; Walter Savage Landor, and Charles Dickens.

³⁴Bell and Daldy acquired the copyright of the Queens of England in 1877 from C.P. Truill and J.P. Strickland, to whom it had been willed by Agnes.

³⁵Longman's Commission Ledgers 10, 11, 15, 17 in the possession of the Longman Company in London.

³⁶Nat.Lib.Scot., MS. 4204, f. 273, 12 July, 1865.

The Everyman edition was reprinted in 1906 and 1910, and was on the Everyman list as late as 1930.

The series was also very popular in the United States. Blanchard and Lea of Philadelphia brought out an American edition, with corrections and additions, from 1841-48. The one-volume abridged edition was published in New York by Harpers in 1867, and the six-volume cheap edition was issued in America by G. Bell and Sons. In 1853 Blanchard and Lea published a one-volume Memoirs of Elizabeth and in 1833 Rosalie Kaufman abridged and edited a three-volume edition of the whole series for Estes and Lauriat of Boston. John Foster Kirk edited a deluxe Imperial Edition in sixteen volumes (1907) with a Biographical Introduction, printed for subscribers by George Barrie and Son of Philadelphia.³⁷ Other Strickland works were also printed in America. Translations of two lives, Catherine d'Aragon and Vie de Marguerite d'Anjou, were published in France in 1857 and 1850 respectively. The number of editions and reprints called for until the first decade of the twentieth century indicates that the Queens of England was indeed a popular and saleable Victorian book; its popularity is confirmed by contemporary reviews.

The series was widely reviewed in periodicals and newspapers during the years of the publication of the first edition. Some publications noticed each volume as it was issued; others devoted articles to various stages of the work, such as the volumes on the Tudor or Stuart queens. The mass of commentary on the series provides an interesting reflection of some aspects of Victorian literary taste, particularly with regard to productions of the "female pen."

³⁷ Allibone's Dictionary lists other pirated editions of the Queens of England which are not listed in the Library of Congress catalogue.

The most frequent observation made by reviewers, almost without exception a favourable one, was that the Stricklands exhibited the virtue of industrious and diligent research. Many reviewers seemed quite content that the work gave evidence of indefatigability and perseverance regardless of whether^{or not} the books were stylistically appealing or sound in judgement. The endeavour of the authors to consult all available sources and to reveal their findings in great detail, frequently bringing to light new historical facts, was praised in more than thirty reviews of portions of the series. Comments on this aspect of the work are often very brief, in the manner of one from The Times (Sept. 5, 1840): "This work is written by a lady of considerable learning, indefatigable industry, and careful judgement - Agnes Strickland." Others are more expansive and perceptive on this topic. A reviewer for the Weekly Chronicle (April 26, 1842) noted the tendency of past historians to provide bare outlines in contrast to the contemporary virtue of producing works of great detail:

To the present age of minute investigation we owe all those details and collateral evidences, which fill up its bare outline, adding symmetry to strength, and giving a greater air of truth and reality to its proportions. Miss Strickland, among the number of authors who have of late devoted themselves to the task, and whose sub-division of labour has naturally resulted in producing more highly-finished and searching truths, stands in no mean position.

The Metropolitan Magazine expressed confidence in the future of the work and in doing so made special note of the labour involved:

This volume is history of the most genuine and sterling character, and all that the ephemeral criticisms of the day can do is to bring it a little earlier into that general repute which its intrinsic merits are certain to procure for it. Miss Strickland has read not only deeply, but wisely; and, from the polish that she has given to

her production, we may be convinced that she has bestowed upon it great labour, and her eminent success has proved that labour to have been a labour of love. (April., 1840)

The frequency with which this kind of praise is bestowed upon the Queens of England³⁸ coincides with the Victorian attitude toward work as a virtue in itself and essential to a life of moral earnestness and progress.³⁹

Some of the critics of the series employed stereotyped phrases in their discussion of the style of the Queens of England. These are on the whole very vague terms used, it seems, for the lack of something better to say. One finds unperceptive statements such as "easy, flowing and natural," "unpretending," "clear," "elegant," and "graceful." There is little real conviction here.

Others had something more significant to write. More than a dozen critics perceived the strong element of romance in the Strickland work, especially in connection with the early volumes which were not overburdened with letters and documents, and most of them were obviously pleased with the similarity of the tone and detail of the early volumes to the historical romance. One of the most extensive statements on this aspect of the biographies is in the Observer for July 6, 1845:

....those who take them up merely for the purposes of amusement, who look upon them as a romance, to wile away an idle or an anxious hour in an agreeable manner, and seek to see no further than the page they peruse - those in a word who still read them as they would read a pleasant novel, and for the same purpose will find them entertaining to the last degree, and full of respectable sentiments, expressed in respectable, if not always appropriate language.

³⁸ See also Naval and Military Gazette (Feb. 8, 1840), Court Journal (Feb. 29, 1840), Spectator (June 14, 1845), Eclectic Review (Jan.-June, 1841), Gentleman's Magazine (Aug., 1848), New Monthly Belle Assemblée (Sept., 1843), Morning Chronicle (April 1, 1842) and Literary Gazette (Sept. 12, 1840).

³⁹ Walter E. Houghton, "Work," The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870 (New Haven, 1957), pp. 242-62.

Usually the observation was made in a brief statement containing such phrases as the following: "a high romance," "the interest of a romance," "the fascination of a romance," "a brilliant historical romance," "romantic and affecting adventures," and "in its effects on the imagination, a high romance."⁴⁰ One reviewer, Margaret Oliphant, writing for Blackwoods Magazine, suggested that because of the prominent romance characteristics the series would be "invaluable to all the good people who have a natural craving for story telling, yet who deny themselves novels..." (Oct., 1855). Two of the more important journals of the day, the Gentleman's Magazine and the Edinburgh Review, found the romance unacceptable in a biographical work.⁴¹

Another aspect of the style on which the reviewers commented was that the Queens of England revealed the faults and merits of feminine writing. The fault most frequently noticed was a lack of conciseness, an excessive love of minutiae. The Eclectic Review (July-Dec., 1840) referred to this as a general fault in female writers - "The chief requisites in which the majority of ladies would be deficient are discrimination, conciseness, and a power of coming directly to the point." - and the Athenaeum suggested that the Strickland work evinced "that besetting sin of female writers, a redundancy of adjectives and epithets." (Feb. 15, 1840). But the Spectator and other journals⁴² welcomed the detailed nature of the series:

⁴⁰Some of the periodicals which comment on the romance strain are - Dublin University Magazine (Oct., 1852), The Times (Sept. 9, 1840), Bell's Weekly Messenger (May 31, 1845), Atlas (Mar. 14, 1840), New Monthly Magazine (1840), Sun (Feb. 10, 1840), English Review (Dec., 1844), and Sunday Times (April 24, 1842).

⁴¹See Gent. Mag., XXII (Oct., 1844), .392-93, and Edin. Rev., LXXXIX (Apr., 1849), 435-62. The Edin. Rev. found her portrait of William III one "which might perhaps find its parallel in the pages of romance..."

⁴²See Sharpe's London Magazine (Mar.-June, 1848), and the Athenaeum (Feb. 15, 1840).

There is the same agreeable research and antiquarian knowledge; an equal power of seizing upon the pleasant and interesting circumstance, and of telling them in a style of elevated gossip, - all feminine in character, it may be, but none the worse for that, in a work where females are the subject. (June 14, 1845)

Because of their gossip nature, court memoirs formed "a species of historical writing for which the ladies have always been famous" (Literary World, Jan., 1848), and to which "justice could scarcely be done except by a lady." (Church of England Quarterly, Apr., 1844). The necessary inclusion of much feminine detail in such memoirs was considered beyond the ken of male historians (Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1842).

The Morning Post (Apr. 28, 1840) and the Naval and Military Gazette (July 22, 1843) drew attention to the increasing number of books being written by and about women. The Church of England Quarterly (Apr., 1844) and the New Monthly Magazine (1840) were pleased to find so much research being done by a woman, in the case of the Queens of England, even though there were weaknesses in style.⁴³

The Stricklands were praised for their display of delicacy and tact in the treatment of difficult subjects. A reviewer for Bell's Weekly Messenger (Aug. 20, 1842), considering a volume on the wives of Henry VIII, wrote, "Miss Strickland, as a lady, had really to walk through the ancient ordeal of a line of red-hot horse shoes, and generally speaking, she continues to do it without singeing her feet." It was deemed appropriate that "the natural tact and discrimination" of a woman should ferret out "the peculiar or finer and more

⁴³Dublin University Magazine (Oct., 1852) reports that "the most difficult and abstruse research is quite compatible with the sprightliness and graceful ease that distinguish all the works of this accomplished woman."

delicate shades which adorn the female character." (Church of England Quarterly, Apr., 1844).

Closely connected to the delicacy of treatment is the moral tendency of the series. The Weekly Dispatch suggested that the work had moral importance because it revealed "correct portraits of the manners, habits, condition, religion, and morals" of past ages. (Feb. 23, 1840). An Atlas reviewer regarded the Strickland works highly because "her mind is pre-eminently imbued with the spirit of moral and religious wisdom" (Sept. 3, 1842), and the Evangelical Magazine noted that "many of her reflections are excellent in their moral tendency" (May, 1840). In this connection, mention of the entertaining value of the work was never without its serious counterpart, "instructive," and of course the latter term applied to morality as well as historical fact.

Reviews of the Queens of England indicate that Victorians liked the concentration upon royal family affairs -- a look behind the scenes of the official movements and acts -- for the reviewers approved of the intensive interest in domestic life and manners displayed in the series. An excerpt from the Metropolitan Magazine best sums up the general attitude: "The insight of the privacy of the domestic lives of these exalted personages is, of itself, enough to make a reputation, and can be obtained from no other source" (Apr., 1840). The value and uniqueness of the Queens of England in this respect was noted by a dozen other journals and newspapers.⁴⁴

⁴⁴See Weekly Chronicle (Apr. 15, 1848), Court Journal (July 25, 1840), Sunday Times (June 15, 1845), New Monthly (1840), Atlas (March 14, 1840), Dublin Review (May, 1841), Cent. Mag. (Aug., 1848), Bell's Weekly Messenger (Aug. 20, 1842), and Spectator (Sept. 12, 1840).

Critics were generally pleased to observe contemporary ideals of womanhood being reflected in the Strickland accounts of the queens. They had a "stirring subject" to deal with in the queens of England, "so many of whom have been as greatly distinguished by their virtues and heroism, as by their rank - shining as worthy consorts of one of the most illustrious lines of kings" (Church of England Quarterly, Apr., 1844). Reviewers liked to see that the majority of queens had been "ladies of delicacy, virtue, and strong domestic affections" (Bell's Weekly Messenger, Mar. 14, 1840). "So angelic do the mild virtues of our queens (with few exceptions) appear, contrasting with the rude, unholy characters of their more distinguished consorts.... They were examples of piety, patrons of literature, the chief promoters of every art which serves to embellish life, in ages when wars or political intrigue was the favourite occupation of men" (English Review, Dec., 1844). Only Margaret Oliphant, reviewing for Blackwood's Magazine (Oct., 1855), expressed doubt about the validity of the Strickland views when the happiness and influence of the queens were concerned.⁴⁵

Opinion on the critical judgement of the authors and on their biases was also common in reviews. Responses varied with particular lives and the first that drew much attention was the account of Mary I. The author, in this case Elizabeth, was commended for her effort to look at Mary in a new light and to forsake the connotations of "Bloody Mary." A reviewer for the Gentleman's Magazine (Apr., 1843) felt that the author "has come to it with a spirit of discrimination...and the result has been, that the character of the queen has

⁴⁵ Her comment has been quoted in the section on "Conjugal and Domestic Bliss" in the chapter on Victorian Feminism.

been cleared of much of the darkness that clouded it...". The Weekly Chronicle perceived that the author "endeavoured to correct the popular errors" with regard to Mary (Aug. 27, 1842). The Eclectic Review (July-Dec., 1842) and the North American Review both supported the new view of Mary which would aid "in disabusing the popular mind of traditional prejudice which many historians of greater reputation had done their utmost to confirm" (North American Review, Oct., 1853).

But Agnes Strickland, in her life of Elizabeth, carried the new perspective too far and revealed "Good Queen Bess" in an unfavourable light. The North American Review and several other journals reprimanded the author on this point.⁴⁶ The Church of England Quarterly (Apr., 1844) allowed that Mary might be restored "but not at the expense of her sister," and the English Review contains the following comment about the life of Elizabeth:

From a writer thus alive to the honour of her sex, and so well able to delineate its excellence, we had hoped for a juster appreciation of a sovereign who was amongst its most distinguished ornaments, than has hitherto been accorded by female biographers.... On the great political and ecclesiastical affairs of the reign, there is little information, and that of a most unsatisfactory nature; while a disposition to misrepresent and depreciate the important personal part taken by the queen is perpetually and unpleasantly evident. (Dec., 1844)

Later volumes of the Queens of England aroused the ire of anti-Stuart reviewers. The Examiner (Sept. 26, 1846) and the Spectator (June 26, 1847) found the attempt to defend Mary of Modena both dull and a failure. Samuel March Phillipps, in an article in the Edinburgh Review (Apr., 1849), attacked the inaccuracies, omissions, and panegyric of the Strickland defence of Henrietta

⁴⁶See also Weekly Dispatch (Aug. 13, 1843), Quarterly Review (June, 1854), and Bell's Weekly Messenger (Feb. 23, 1840).

Maria, and the unjust condemnation of William III. He observed that "Miss Strickland bears true and indiscriminate allegiance" to the House of Stuart.

Other journals were very tolerant of the Strickland partiality.⁴⁷

Sharpe's London Magazine welcomed the "heartly partizanship" of the Queens of England and found it "refreshing in this age of impartiality" (Mar., 1843), and the Dublin Review allowed that it is difficult for any one immersed in such work to deny "a growing spirit of partisanship" (Oct., 1852). The Court Journal carried an extensive statement on the subject which mingles the acceptance of partisanship with a love of earnestness and a taste for romance:

We like a partizan, because we like earnestness; and in a work like this, which has a graceful position somewhere between the dignity and the romance of history, likes and dislikes are especially permissible. And really, Miss Strickland has contrived to weave her narrative so well, and with so much continuous purpose, that it is quite as difficult to lay aside as an engrossing fiction. (June 19, 1947)

Such reviewers recognized the place of the Stricklands in the literary history of the century as the popularizers of history and as purveyors of some of the prominent attitudes of the day which pleased a large number of readers. Margaret Oliphant best expressed this opinion in her perceptive review for Blackwood's when she wrote that she was "not at all disposed to judge her after the standard of severe authenticity. We can get the grander historical facts elsewhere; and so long as she is honest, and says nothing positively against truth, the seal of a partisan is quite befitting to the fair historian" (Oct., 1855). Mrs Oliphant hailed Agnes Strickland as the muse of a school of light

⁴⁷See Gent. Mag. (Aug., 1843) and Sunday Times (Aug. 30, 1846). The Weekly Chronicle reports of her bias, "as everyone sees through it, no harm will be the result." (May 31, 1845).

historical writing because so many other writers emulated her work in the mid-nineteenth century:

Alas! the spirit of her dream has changed. No rustling brocades, no measured march, no solemn avant courier proclaims the journeys or the researches of our historic muse. There she is - behold her! - in the library of the British Museum, with her poke bonnet, her umbrella, her india-rubber overshoes; perhaps - most likely - some sandwiches in that pocket where weighty tablets were wont to be. There she sits all the dull November day, the London fog peering in at her through the big windows; nobody blowing a trumpet to clear the way as she goes home through the dingy streets of Bloomsbury, - instead of her triumphal car, putting up with an omnibus, and possibly carrying her notes in her little bag or basket, like any ordinary womankind who has been buying buttons or hooks-and-eyes. Oh grievous downfall and decadence! Yet is not this the whole. For her one immortal quill the poor lady has nothing better than a box of steel pens, hard and mercantile, which the most enthusiastic fancy could scarcely consecrate; and instead of a slow succession of elaborate volumes, full of style and pomp, accuracy and importance, it is a shower of pretty books in red and blue, gilded and illustrated, light and dainty and personal, that fall upon us from her hands. In short, it is not Edward Gibbon, but Agnes Strickland - the literary woman of business, and not the antique man of study - who introduces familiarly to our households in these days the reduced pretensions of the historic muse.

Mrs Oliphant gave precedence to Agnes over any of her successors both because she was the originator of a particular kind of historical writing and because her work was "more entitled to serious consideration...."

In general, reviewers approved of the Queens of England, found it interesting and valuable, and acknowledged its right to popularity. It was called "a truly national work," "one of our standard English classics," "a highly interesting national work," and "a valuable and interesting addition to our biographical literature."⁴⁸

⁴⁸Quotations are from Naval and Military Gazette (June 1, 1844), Metropolitan Mag. (Nov., 1840), Weekly Chronicle (Sept. 13, 1840), and Morning Herald (Feb. 28, 1840).

Some reputable historians of the century found merit in the series as well. John Lingard, author of a 10 volume History of England (1819-30) which was one of the most popular until Green's Short History of the English People (1874), write:

There remains, however, one name, which shall not be passed over in silence, - that of a female writer, Miss Strickland, whose claim to the distinction is of a different kind, and peculiarly her own, - the discovery of a new mine of historic lore previously unexplored; a mine which she has worked with great success....⁴⁹

Sir Archibald Alison, author of The History of Europe (10 volumes, 1833-42), wrote of her as an "able and learned lady," the author of "highly interesting 'Lives....'"⁵⁰ H. Guizot, French historian and statesman, gave the sisters much valuable help in France and also wrote of their work as "very good and interesting," and commended them for presenting their facts "singularly exempt from dryness."⁵¹ J.O. Halliwell-Phillips dedicated his Letters of the Kings of England (1846) to Agnes as "a slight Testimony of Esteem and Respect," and Wm. H. Prescott, author of History of the Conquest of Mexico (1843) wrote:

Miss Strickland's interesting volumes are particularly valuable to the historian for the copious extracts they contain from curious unpublished documents, which had escaped the notice of writers too exclusively occupied with political events to give much heed to details of a domestic and personal nature.⁵²

Many notes of approval and praise were also sent to Agnes by laymen.⁵³

⁴⁹The History of England, 5th edition (1849), p. xxi.

⁵⁰Some Account of My Life and Writings, 2 vols. (1833), II, p. 6.

⁵¹J.H. Strickland, Life, pp. 45, 113.

⁵²History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain, 2 vols. (1855), I, p. 103.

⁵³These are contained in an album at the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office. MS. 396.

The modern reader of the Queens of England certainly does not find that appeal in the series that the Victorian critics perceived. Characteristics of Victorian prose such as copiousness, expansiveness, earnestness, and moral fervour, when pursued by a minor writer pretending to serious work, make tedious matter for the modern reader. But it must be remembered that for the Victorian the volumes came out over a long period of time and could be read at leisure, the combination of history and romance proved attractive to a growing reading public, and the series was of special significance to women.

CHAPTER V

The StricklandsasHistorical Biographers

In the chapter on Victorian feminism some notice was taken of the term "memoirs" as it was understood by nineteenth-century female biographers, including the Stricklands. In its original form "memoirs" meant "a sustained narrative of events that have happened within the memory of the author and under his observation." It usually recorded only a portion of a man's life, or a limited period of history, and its purpose was historical as well as biographical.¹ By the early nineteenth century the term had acquired the alternative denotation of being a reconstructional biography, or combined biography and history, of a subject and period long before the author's lifetime. This latter concept was the one adhered to by Lucy Aiken, Elizabeth Benger, Hannah Lawrence, and the Strickland sisters.² Their books were chronological and diffuse, they presented the times and the person, and their

¹Mark Longaker, English Biography in the Eighteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1931) p. 492.

²Harold Nicolson in his The Development of English Biography (4th impression, 1959), p. 126, suggests that the principal contribution of the Victorians to the development of biography was the perfection of the reconstructional biography, a type that required vast erudition and tremendous industry. He had in mind such works as James Spedding's Life and Letters of Francis Bacon (1861-74) and David Masson's Life of Milton (1859-80), but the Stricklands' works belong at least on the periphery of this classification of biography.

aim was to be didactic as well as to inform and entertain. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the Strickland approach to historical biography in greater detail in order to reveal the extent of their research, their treatment of sources, the quality of their historical judgement, and the style of their works. It seems that this may best be done by concentrating on the life of one queen, and, since the biography of Queen Elizabeth proved to be one of the most controversial in the Queens of England series, it has been selected.

The Strickland sisters were extremely devoted to quantity in the conduct of their research. They endeavoured to locate and examine all the extant sources of information on the queens, including letters and documents in private hands, materials in state papers offices and archives, chronicles, histories, and memoirs. In the life of Elizabeth alone Agnes referred to one hundred and five sources in English, French, and Latin, both manuscripts and printed books. She drew most heavily on chronicles and memoirs of the period, including such volumes as James Melville's Memoirs of His Own Life (1827), Raphael Holinshed's The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Irelande (1577), William Camden's The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth (1630), Sir John Harrington's Nugae Antiquae (1749), Thomas Heywood's England's Elizabeth: Her Life and Troubles, During Her Minoritie from the Cradle to the Crowne (1631), and the Correspondance Diplomatique of French ambassadors such as Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon. But the Stricklands were not devoted to accuracy in documentation. Frequently several sources are cited for a particular point, and only rarely are details of volume and pagination given.

The Stricklands treated their sources very freely. They simplified materials for the contemporary reader by translating foreign documents and by modernizing orthography when the books and manuscripts were in English. Nor were they scrupulous about the accuracy of their quotations. In quoting passages from George Gascoigne's Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth (1576), for example, Agnes omits lines and verses without indicating the omission, and she makes changes in wording, once again to simplify for the nineteenth-century reader. "Wherefore I will attend while you lodge here" in the Princely Pleasures becomes "Yet still I will attend while you're abiding here."³

In presenting the essence of passages of prose the Stricklands adopted a method of paraphrase and quotation, but the quoted passages are liberally altered and the paraphrased sections often include quoted material. A passage from Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles followed by Agnes's rendition of it will serve to illustrate this method.

Neere unto Fenchurch was erected a scaffold richely furnished,whereon stoode a noyse of instruments, and a childe in costly apparell, whiche was appoynted to welcome the Queenes Maiestie in the whole Cities behalfe.... At which words of the last line, the whole people gave a great shout, wishing with one assent as the child had said, and the Queenes maiestie thanked most hartily, both the Citie for this her gentle receyving at the first, and also the people for confirming the same. Here was noted in the Queenes Majesties countenance, during the time that the child spake, besides a perpetuall attentiveness in hir face, a marvellous change in loke, as the childes words touched either her person, or the peoples tonges and hearts. So that she with rejoicing visage did evidently declare that the words toke no lesse place in hir minde, than they were most heartely pronounced by the childe, as from the heartes of his most heartie Citizens.

The pageants began in Fenchurch Street, where a "fair child," in costly apparel, was placed on a stage to welcome her majesty to the city....

At the words of the last line the people gave a great shout, repeating, with one assent, what the child had said. "And the queen's

³Gascoigne's poem is to be found in John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 2nd. ed. 3 vols. (1823), and the relevant passage in the Queens of England is in VI, p. 452. II, pp. 495-527.

majesty thanked graciously both the city for her reception, and the people for confirming the same. Here was noted the perpetual attentiveness in the queen's countenance, while the child spake, and a marvelous change in her look, as the words touched either her or the people; so that her rejoicing visage declared that the words took their place in her mind."⁴

Upon other occasions Agnes quoted without giving any indication that she was doing so. Parts of the following passage from John Strype's Annals of the Reformation (1824) are rendered almost exactly by Agnes without the use of quotation marks.

....now therefore was set up in Greenwich park a goodly banquetting-house for her grace, made of fir-poles, and decked with birch-branches, and all manner of flowers both of the field and garden, as roses, July-flowers, lavender, marigolds, and all manner of strewing herbs and rushes. There were also set up tents for the kitchen, and for the officers, against to-morrow, with provisions laid in of wine, ale, and beer....

About five in the afternoon came the queen with the ambassadors and divers lords and ladies, and stood over the park gate to see the exercise. And after, the combatants ran, chasing one the other. After this the queen came down into the park, and took her horse, and rode up to the banquetting-house, and the three ambassadors; and so to supper. After was a mask; and then a great banquet. And then followed great casting of fire and shooting of guns till twelve at night.

A goodly banquetting house was built up for her grace with fir poles, and decked with birch branches and all manner of flowers, both of the field and garden, as roses, July flowers, lavender, marygolds, and all manner of strewing herbs and rushes. There were also tents set up for providing refreshment, and a space made for the tilting. About five in the afternoon came the queen, with the ambassadors and the lords and ladies of her train, and stood over the park gate, to see the exercise of arms, and afterwards the combatants chasing one another. Then the queen took her horse, and, accompanied by three ambassadors and her retinue, rode to the sylvan pavilion, where a costly banquet was provided for her. This was succeeded by a mask, and the entertainment closed, with fireworks and firing of guns, about midnight.⁵

⁴R. Holinshed, The Chronicles of England, 3 vols. (1577) II, pp. 1787-88, and QE, VI, pp. 158-59.

⁵Strype, I, pt. 1, pp. 238-59. See QE, VI, p. 184, for the corresponding passage. The passage from Strype is included in Nichols's Progresses, I, p. 73, and Agnes cites Nichols as her source.

It is interesting to note that in her extract Agnes bowdlerizes her source by substituting "refreshments" for "wine, ale, and beer."

Both Agnes and Elizabeth were often naïve and uncritical in their appraisal of sources. Examples are plentiful in the life of Queen Elizabeth. In the early stages when Agnes is anxious to acquit Elizabeth of any acts unbecoming to a young girl, she employs the authority of Gregorio Leti who wrote Historia o Vero Vita de Elisabetta, Regina d'Inghilterra (Amsterdam, 1692). The particular point in question was whether or not Elizabeth, at the age of fourteen, refused of her own accord the proposal of marriage by the Lord Admiral, Thomas Seymour. Earlier historians, such as Sharon Turner, and modern historians say that such a marriage was prohibited by the King's council. But Agnes rejects Turner and reverts to Leti who "appears to have obtained peculiar information on the private history of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, [and] assures us, that the refusal proceeded from Elizabeth herself."⁶ Her attitude to such a doubtful source is revealed in an earlier reference. She quotes a letter to Anne of Cleves which Leti says is by Elizabeth, the first letter she ever wrote. Although the letter is without date or signature, Agnes's comment is that "Leti, who rarely gives his authorities, does not explain the source whence it was derived; but there is no reason to dispute its authenticity."⁷ Such statements of complete trust are common in the Queens of England.

⁶ QE., VI, p.22.

⁷ QE., VI, p.15. J.E.Neale makes the following comment about Gregorio Leti in "The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth," The Age of Catherine de Medici and Essays in Elizabethan History (1963), pp.171-98: "I can hardly enter here into proof of my estimate of Leti as a historian; but his Historia...di Elisabetta is utterly worthless, and is adorned with letters of his own fabrication. Written between 1680 and 1693, it is obviously not an original authority for Elizabeth's reign."

At a later stage in the biography of Elizabeth Agnes proceeds for many pages to discuss the negotiations for marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, for which her chief source is the diplomatic correspondence of the French ambassador, de La Mothe Fénelon, whom she herself admits to be "a notorious gossip."⁸ She accepts the ambassador's point of view without question, apparently unconcerned that she is getting only one side of the negotiations. Fénelon was under the impression that Elizabeth's counsellors were opposed to any marriage and that the Queen herself fully desired to marry the French Duke. But the question was a very complicated one. Elizabeth's council was divided on the issue, but some of her most reliable counsellors, Burghley in particular, favoured the marriage. The Queen always drew back in doubt about the political and religious implications.⁹

Apart from an uncritical approach to sources the Strickland sisters were governed by partisanship. Both of them were pro-Stuart, although Agnes was certainly more militant than Elizabeth.

Reviewers of the series noted the biased point of view and some were tolerant of it, but Samuel March Phillipps,¹⁰ a writer for the Edinburgh Review, after observing that partiality is a tendency of female authors, strongly disapproved of it in such works as the Stricklands were writing:

It is a fact, which many will think extraordinary, that some of the most illiberal and invidious attacks, whether on classes or on individuals, which have been published in our times, have been the works of female

⁸ QE., VI, p. 328. For the pages in question see VI, pp. 337-46.

⁹ J.E. Neale Queen Elizabeth (Pelican edition, 1960), pp. 143-54 and 245-49.

¹⁰ The author of the review is identified by L.G. Johnson, "On Some Authors of Edinburgh Review Articles, 1830-1849," The Library, 5th series, VII (1952), 38-50.

writers. Perhaps it might not be difficult to show that a certain degree of this unreasoning and unreasonable asperity is more natural, and therefore less blameable, in the female than in the male character. It is the failing, not of a cold or harsh, but of a sensitive, enthusiastic, and imperfectly disciplined temperament....

Still it must be admitted that this propensity, though not perhaps an ungraceful or even unamiable infirmity under ordinary circumstances, is singularly unsuited to the office of a public instructor....¹¹

The Edinburgh Review, however, staunchly supported the Whig view of English history, and this reviewer objected to Agnes's partiality towards such Stuart queens as Mary, Queen of Scots, and Mary of Modena, wife of James II. In her treatment of these queens she dwelt upon virtues and lightly skimmed over faults. But the fact that other well-known nineteenth-century historians had a pre-determined approach to English history should be kept in mind when one observes the bias of the Strickland sisters.

The preference for Mary Stuart in particular was common to other female authors of the century. Elizabeth Benger in her Memoirs of the Life of Mary Queen of Scots (1823)¹² and Anna Jameson in Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns (1831)¹³ both exonerate Mary of any implication in Darnley's murder, regarding her as a woman far too gentle and sensitive to play any part in such a brutal deed. And Jane Austen expressed her belief in the amiable nature of Mary Stuart and the coldness and harshness of Elizabeth in a juvenile synopsis of the history of England.¹⁴

A similar and very firm conviction was adhered to by Agnes in her lives of Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots; it led to many misconceptions and erroneous

¹¹ "Lives of the Queens of England, The Series of the Stuarts," Edinburgh Review, LXXXIX (1849), pp. 435-62.

¹² pp. 320-21.

¹³ "Mary Queen of Scots," pp. 218-78.

¹⁴ Love and Friendship and Other Early Works (1922), pp. 91-2.

judgements. It led her to romanticise traits of Mary's character in order to suggest, among other things, that she was the ideal of womanhood. After the death of her first husband, Francis II of France, when Mary had returned to Scotland, she was the subject of several marriage negotiations, and marriage was, for her as well as for Elizabeth, politically desirable. It was also desirable for Mary to have Elizabeth's approval in the choice of a husband in the hope that she and her issue would be recognized as the successors to the English throne should Elizabeth not marry and bear children. Agnes discusses this marriage problem and cites several sources from which she gathered her information, only one of which mentions Mary's personal opinion. Patrick Tytler writes that "she was convinced that a speedy marriage was the best measure for herself and her kingdom...."¹⁵ Agnes, in her attempt to create her own image of Mary, ignores Tytler's statement and produces her own hypothesis:

Mary very obligingly communicated all her offers to her good sister of England, having promised to be guided by her advice on this important subject, and all were equally objectionable in Elizabeth's opinion. Mary, in the morning freshness of youth, beauty, and poetic genius, cared for none of these things; her heart was long faithful to the memory of her buried lord, and she allowed Elizabeth to dictate refusals to her illustrious wooers with perfect unconcern....¹⁶

In July, 1565, the Queen of Scots married Lord Darnley, an English subject; "the hitherto impregnable heart of the beautiful widow, had surrendered itself at first sight of 'the beardless, lady-faced boy....'"¹⁷ But this relationship soon proved intolerable because of Darnley's mean and dissolute ways. He was murdered and the act "artfully contrived by the perpetrators of this atrocious

¹⁵History of Scotland, 4 vols. (1828-43), II, p.354.

¹⁶QE., VI, p.230.

¹⁷QE., VI, p.251.

deed, to fling a strong suspicion of the crime on their hapless sovereign."¹⁸ Agnes's opinion of Mary's third marriage, to the Earl of Bothwell in 1567, was that Mary had no choice,¹⁹ that no woman could willingly marry such a "ruffian" as Bothwell.²⁰ The famous "casket letters" which implicate Mary in the murder of Darnley and show the extent of her involvement with Bothwell are rejected by Agnes as being forgeries. In each of the above cases the author sees Mary as the paragon of womanhood maligned by evil men.

It is in treating the relationships between Elizabeth and Mary that Agnes most prominently displays her tendency to romanticise. Elizabeth is regarded as "the most despotic monarch, save and except her father, that ever swayed the sceptre of this realm, [one who] had nourished the spirit of revolt against regal authority in the dominions of her neighbour, and for the sake of personal vengeance on a fairer woman than herself, had committed a political sin against her own privileged and peculiar class...."²¹ Her cruel imprisonment of Mary "sullied the brightness of her annals with stains of indelible blackness."²² She compelled the Earl of Shrewsbury to imprison Mary in Tutbury castle:

The earl was, in truth, converted into a wretched gaoler, who inflicted and received a life of domestic misery. His intriguing, proud, and cruel wife, whose temper could not be restrained by any power either on earth or in heaven, soon became jealous of the lovely and fascinating prisoner, and led her husband, a noble of exemplary gravity and a grand-sire, a terrible life.²³

¹⁸ QE., VI, p. 231

¹⁹ QE., VI, p. 233.

²⁰ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 4120, f. 115, 21 July, 1856.

²¹ QE., VI, p. 284.

²² QE., VI, p. 426.

²³ QE., VI, p. 294. She claims that Elizabeth's parsimony placed a great financial burden on Shrewsbury, but a letter in Edmund Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners, 3 vols. (1828), I, pp. 510-11 reveals that he was in the habit of requesting money of the Queen at regular intervals for Mary's maintenance.

Agnes regarded Mary as the innocent victim of harsh imprisonment, deprived of comfort and the freedom to correspond with her friends. On the contrary, every effort was made to keep Mary in "honourable custody," she was allowed to hunt and to hawk, and initially she had the opportunity to correspond.²⁴ The author suggests that Elizabeth had alternatives to the imprisonment of Mary:

Elizabeth could have negotiated a pardon for her old confederates and pensioners [the rebellious Scottish lords] - could have replaced Mary in a moderate exercise of the regal power of Scotland, and established herself in the dignity maintained by the monarchs of England in older times.... She preferred gratifying personal revenge to aggrandizement of her realm....²⁵

Elizabeth did try to negotiate an agreement whereby Mary could have remained Queen of Scotland, but the Scots lords in power were adamant in their demand for her abdication.²⁶ Elizabeth also resisted factions in both England and Scotland which demanded Mary's life.

Agnes's partiality to Mary Stuart caused her to be politically unrealistic in her appraisal of the situation. She suggests that Elizabeth ought to have permitted Mary's retirement from England:

Elizabeth ought to have recollected, that in the height of Mary's prosperity, when backed by all the power of France, and living at Paris as queen consort, and queen regnant of Scotland, no injury had been effected to England. It was not probable that Mary could do more against her, if she had suffered her to retire to France, blighted as she was now by calumny and ill health, and dethroned from her realm.²⁷

Yet on the next page of her account Agnes mentions the threat of a catholic

²⁴Neale, Queen Elizabeth, p. 168. Letters in Lodge's illustrations also reveal that Mary's imprisonment was certainly not harsh and that she initially had the opportunity to correspond. She was restricted more severely as plots began to develop.

²⁵QE., VI, p.292.

²⁶Neale, Queen Elizabeth, p.177.

²⁷QE., VI, p.308.

coalition throughout Europe on behalf of Mary, and later in the life she had to consider schemes designed to place Mary on the throne of England. Such was the rebellion of the northern lords in 1569:

Mary Stuart, as the catholic heiress of the crown, and exciting by her beauty and misfortunes, her persecutions and her patience, the deepest interest among the chivalry of the north, who were chiefly professors of the same creed, was the watchword and leading point of the association. Whether the plot was foisted by her is doubtful.²⁸

But Mary was involved in the northern rebellion, and in the Ridolfi plot, and in the Babington plot, all designed to gain the English throne for her. Even when Agnes is forced to admit Mary's involvement she always portrays her as a passive associate in the machinations of others. Thus her proposed union with the Duke of Norfolk is viewed primarily as a personal attachment with secondary political implications:

While Elizabeth was deluding herself into something like an imaginary passion for the youthful heir-presumptive of France, her kinsman, the duke of Norfolk, had resumed his interdicted correspondence with the captive queen of Scots, and the luckless lovers had suffered themselves to be entangled by the intriguing Florentine banker, Ridolfi, in the meshes of a political plot, of the full tendency of which they appear not to have been aware. Its ostensible object was the liberation of Mary, her marriage with Norfolk, and her restoration to her rightful throne.²⁹

In the case of the Babington plot, the one which made certain Mary's tragic end, it was unfair of Elizabeth's counsellors to allow it to continue until Mary committed herself to it, suggests Agnes.³⁰ It could have been stopped before she became involved. Such was the extent of Agnes's naiveté and partiality where Mary Stuart was concerned.

In her estimate of the character of Elizabeth Agnes attempted a balance

²⁸QE., VI, p.319.

²⁹QE., VI, pp.368-69.

³⁰QE., VII, p.29.

of good and bad qualities, not wishing to condemn her utterly, nor to praise her without serious reservations. She approves of Elizabeth's aptitude for learning and never fails to note in the chronology her various scholastic achievements and writings. The Queen's ability as a "peace-sovereign," as a skilful manipulator of domestic affairs is commended.³¹ The political successes she attained by means of her "characteristic caution" are found praiseworthy.³² But the only other credit she is given is for "the acuteness of her perceptive powers, and the unerring discrimination with which she selected her ministers and great law officers...."³³ This estimate reveals that Agnes regarded Queen Elizabeth as a political success.

Where personality is concerned she is governed by her partiality, not only to Mary Stuart, but to her Victorian concepts as well. Agnes writes of the necessity to judge another age charitably, but she immediately condemns its customs with an epithet:

The customs and manners of an age and people must always be considered charitably, before violent blame is incurred; and it is possible, from so many traces that exist of Elizabeth's uproarious [my emphasis] mode of spending our Sabbath evening, that some such reckoning in time was in vogue in her days.³⁴

The biographer was no more disposed to be charitable than she was to be impartial in her judgements, although she made affirmative proclamations of both. She frequently condemns Elizabeth for unfeminine behaviour. The Queen's vanity, her love of display, pomp and homage indicate that she "understood little of the delicacy and reserve of an English gentlewoman, which, even in the days of Alfred, deterred royal females from exhibiting themselves to the vulgar in a

³¹QE., VI, p.425.

³³QE., VI, p.479.

³²QE., VI, p.30.

³⁴QE., VI, p.235.

manner unbefitting the modesty of her sex."³⁵ Agnes's notions of feminine behaviour would not permit her to accept actions of political necessity in which Elizabeth was inevitably involved. For example, while Mary I was still on the throne Elizabeth was forced to be flexible on the subject of religion. On one occasion "she prayed God that the earth might open and swallow her alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic." In spite of the precariousness of Elizabeth's situation at the time, Agnes writes, "Although Elizabeth never scrupled throughout her life to sacrifice truth to expediency, it is difficult to believe that any one could, to secure a temporal advantage, utter so awful a perjury."³⁶ The actions which Elizabeth was forced to sanction when treason occurred were also reviled:

Alas! that the biographer of Elizabeth should be compelled to turn from the lovely picture of an enlightened female sovereign, smiling on the labours of the children of her own subjects, blended with those of the little Flemish refugees in the Sandwich school of industry, to depict her presiding like Atropos, over racks and gibbets, and all the horrible panoply of religious and political tyranny.³⁷

Other features of the age such as the Mystery plays in which sacred subjects "could be so absurdly dramatized," and "listened to with reverential awe by a demi-savage people" serve to call forth Agnes's Victorian sense of superiority and complacency.³⁸

In composing her life of Queen Elizabeth, as the above examples indicate, Agnes Strickland revealed inaccuracy in the quotation of source material, partiality, a narrowness of perception, and errors in critical judgement. It seems she did not bear in mind the political problems of the reign - the necessity

³⁵ Q.E., VI, p.367.

³⁷ Q.E., VI, p. 426.

³⁶ Q.E., VI, pp. 138-9.

³⁸ Q.E., VI, p.236.

for England to keep France and French influence out of Scotland, or the advantages of maintaining negotiations for marriage with France as long as possible in order to retain a strong hand in dealings with Spain. Nor did she seem particularly aware of the characteristics of the age - the use of torture and execution in all countries as penalties for treason, the constant intrigues that attempted to maintain the balance of power or discover dangerous plots, or the financial problems of a small nation like England. She frequently alludes to Elizabeth's frugality in disparaging terms. The principal cause of the unreliable views was, of course, the bias in favour of Mary Stuart, but the Stricklands had other preconceived ideas as well, such as their notions of femininity and the woman's world, of which they wished to convince their Victorian readers. They wrote their series in such a manner as to popularize their ideas and attitudes.

Long before the Strickland sisters began their first series of biographies "romantic art came into historical writing by way of two men of letters, René de Chateaubriand and Sir Walter Scott."³⁹ Chateaubriand in The Martyrs (1809) used distinctive detail to preserve the "life and soul of the past." Scott brought patriotism and the popular touch to historical writing and "to the static, analytic, abstract manner of the Enlightenment...opposed movement, atmosphere, color, feeling for nature."⁴⁰

The works of these two men stimulated similar developments in the writing of serious historians. Augustin Thierry, who was equally indebted to Scott and

³⁹Erery Neff, The Poetry of History (New York, 1948), p. 116.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 118.

to Chateaubriand, was the first of these. His Conquest of England by the Normans, first published in 1825, was translated into English the same year by C.C.Hamilton. Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland knew and used Thierry's work on the Conquest.

M. Michelet, author of The History of France (15 volumes, 1833-65), was another romantic historian, very skilful in bringing to life scenes from the past by the power of imagination.⁴¹ Emery Neff says he had "a command of narrative and characterization that might have endowed a great novelist, the imagination and divination of a poet, a philosopher's desire to generalize."⁴² Henry Howard of Corby Castle persuaded Michelet to place his studies of the fifteenth century at Agnes's disposal.⁴³ Then in 1844 Agnes and Elizabeth went to France to gather materials. While there they met Michelet at the Hotel Soubise where he aided them with documents on Henrietta Maria and Mary of Modena.⁴⁴ It is quite probable that the Stricklands were influenced to some extent by the methods of these men.

Scott had a great influence on book-makers like the Stricklands. By 1818, as a survey of the early Strickland writing has revealed, Agnes was producing verse in emulation of Scott, and by 1833 she had turned her attention to historical romance in prose. Scott was also in the minds of the two eldest sisters while they were writing the Queens of England. Agnes suggested that her Lives would satisfy the matured taste of a generation of readers who had

⁴¹G.P.Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (1913), p.171.

⁴²Neff, p. 130.

⁴³Una Pope-Hennessy, p. 51.

⁴⁴Pope-Hennessy, p. 139.

acquired their first impressions of British history from the Waverly novels,⁴⁵ and Scott is mentioned several times at points in the chronology which he had treated in his fiction. Like Scott the Stricklands made use of the chronicles of British history, they were obviously captivated by the romance of royalty, and they liked to present the picturesque aspects of history in so far as these included pageants, processions, costumes, and buildings.⁴⁶ An example of the corresponding interest of Scott and the Stricklands is the treatment by each of the picturesque pageantry and procession of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth Castle. Agnes introduces the incident with a reference to Scott:

The course of the chronology has now led to that magnificent epoch in the life of Elizabeth, which the genius of Sir Walter Scott has made familiar. And, of course, the following narrative will, in some measure, be similar to the realities of that splendid romance of Kenilworth, since Sir Walter Scott's descriptions were drawn from the same sources.⁴⁷

The sources to which she refers are John Laneham's Kenilworth and George Gascoigne's Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth.⁴⁸ Scott presents in his narrative the entrance of the Queen into Kenilworth, a description of her dress, the dress of Leicester and other members of the procession, an account of the part played by an Herculean porter at the barrier, an imitation of Gascoigne's verses spoken by the porter, and a description of the pageants presented for the Queen's entertainment. But he has woven such characters as the porter into his plot beforehand, and, although he selects phrases and words from John Laneham's

⁴⁵Queens of Scotland, I, p.xvii.

⁴⁶Dr. Ian Jack suggests that "the Picturesque might...be used as the central concept in a study of the Waverly Romances." English Literature 1815-1832 (Oxford, 1963), p.207. Scott sought the picturesque in character and scenery.

⁴⁷QE., VI, pp.449-50.

⁴⁸Both works are included in John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth (1823), II, pp. 420-523.

account, he brings his imagination to bear on the material, expands it, and makes it more vivid.⁴⁹ In a footnote Agnes provides an explanation of the real circumstances of the visit to Kenilworth and how they differed from the details in Scott's book.⁵⁰ Her own account employs the usual method of compression and quotation, the quotations not always being acknowledged. In this particular case she was more economical than usual, perhaps because Scott had re-created the same incidents, but another passage on one of the Queen's processions, drawn from Holinshed's Chronicles, provides a good example of the kind of descriptive detail and anecdote Victorian readers could find in the Queens of England, by which they could be entertained and on which they could base their own opinions concerning the character of the person involved:

Throughout the whole of Cheapside, from every penthouse and window hung banners and streamers, and the richest carpets, stuffs, and cloth of gold tapestried the streets, specimens of the great wealth of stores within, for Cheapside was the principal location of the mercers and silk-dealers in London. At the upper end of this splendid thoroughfare were collected the city authorities, in their gala dresses, headed by their recorder, Master Ranulph Chelmely, who, in the name of the lord Mayor and the city of London, begged her majesty's acceptance of a purse of crimson satin, containing a thousand marks in gold, and withal, beseeching her to continue good and gracious lady and queen to them.

The queen's majesty took the purse, "with both her hands," and readily answered,

"I thank my lord mayor, his brethren, and ye all. And whereas, master recorder, your request is, that I may continue your good lady and queen, be ye assured, that I will be as good unto ye as ever queen was to a people."⁵¹

Another author in whose work the Stricklands could have discovered the value of depending heavily on chronicles was Augustin Thierry. In his Conquest

⁴⁹Kenilworth (Everyman edition, 1909), pp.341-44. There are many other passages of description of costume and pageantry in the novel that remind one of the Strickland method - i.e. pp.348, 376, 415-16. It is also interesting to note such volumes as Historical Scenes and Portraits from Scott, ed. J.C.Smith [1935].

⁵⁰QE., VI, p.450.

⁵¹QE., VI, p.161.

of England by the Normans (1825) he made use of local and poetic colouring in order to let the age paint its own portrait:

No historian has been more dependent on literature than Thierry. Not only is his narrative a mosaic of quotations, but also he prints in full, usually in an appendix, poems of considerable length illustrative of the Saxon spirit, from The Battle of Brunanburgh to Robin Hood ballads.⁵²

Thierry skilfully assimilated quotations from the chronicles and sagas into his own vivid and exciting narrative, as in the following passage about Harold's attack on the Norwegians who invaded northern England just before William of Normandy arrived on the south coast. The quotations are from the Saga of Harald.

At some distance from the town the Norwegians suddenly perceived a great cloud of dust, and in the midst of this cloud something glittering like steel in the sunshine. 'Who are these men advancing towards us?' said the king to Tosti. 'It can only be,' said the Saxon, 'Englishmen coming to demand pardon and implore our friendship.' The advancing mass growing gradually more distinct, soon appeared a numerous army, ranged in battle order. 'The enemy! the enemy!' exclaimed the Norwegians, and they detached three horsemen to bring up in all haste the soldiers who remained behind in the camp and on board the ships. The king unfurled his standard, which he called the ravager of the world; the soldiers drew up around it, in a long narrow line, curved at the extremities. They stood pressed against each other, their lances planted in the ground with the points turned towards the enemy. Harold, son of Sigurd, rode through the ranks on his black charger, singing extempore verses, a fragment of which has been transmitted to us by the northern historians: 'Let us fight,' said he, 'let us advance, though without our cuirasses, to the edges of blue steel; our helmets glitter in the sun; that is enough for brave men.'⁵³

The passage by Agnes on the Queen's recognition-procession is, it seems, an attempt to do what Thierry did; to make historical writing dramatic and entertaining, to capture some of the romance and colour of the past.⁵⁴ The

⁵² Neff, p.120.

⁵³ Conquest of England, translated by W. Hazlitt, 2 vols. (1856). I, p.169.

⁵⁴ Passages resembling those one may find in a romance are especially frequent in the early lives. See Margaret of Anjou, III, p.325; Matilda of Flanders, I, p.44; Adeline of Louvain, I, p.234; Matilda of Scotland, I, pp.193, 208-9. Some of these passages contain the language of romance because they are adapted from the chronicles. Often Agnes and Eliza are indebted to Thierry for incidents they relate.

text of the Queens of England is largely composed of quotations from chronicles, histories, memoirs, letters, and poems, interspersed with comments and transitional passages by the Stricklands, but Agnes and Elizabeth lacked the skill needed to assimilate and arrange a mass of source material in order to produce a narrative with continuity.

The literature of the past was extremely important to the Strickland concept of historical writing and suggests that their series should be classed as romantic history. Very frequently their own observations and the sections of transition which they wrote enforce this classification. The attempt to weave an aura of romance about Mary Stuart, to see her as a woman of stainless virtue and heroic endurance, and Elizabeth as a jealous oppressor with cruel advisers, is an aspect of this approach. In the chapter on Victorian feminism notice was taken of the inclination to view most queens as heroines of romance - virtuous, charitable, beautiful, accomplished, and courageous.

The most prominent feature of the tendency to portray issues and characters in a distinctly coloured fashion is the choice of epithets. Epithets are used in profusion in the Queens of England, especially by Agnes. There is a constant flow of such phrases as "royal husband," "illustrious sufferer," "maternal devotion," "feminine delicacy," and "persecuted captive," but in potentially sentimental scenes, similar to those in which the heroine of a romance may be placed, the epithets are increased. Such is a passage on the marriage of Mary of Modena to James II:

The saddest heart there, being, no doubt, that of the beautiful young bride, who had made such obstinate and unexampled efforts to defend her maiden freedom. Her struggles had been fruitless; she had been led a powerless victim to the marriage altar, her reluctant lips had been compelled to pronounce the irrevocable vow; the glittering fetter

was on her finger; the most solemn rites of her church had been employed to accomplish the sacrifice; and all her kindred and her people were rejoicing in festivities, which had cost her oceans of tears.⁵⁵

In the sentimental scenes hyperboles such as "oceans of tears," and "floods of tears" are not uncommon, and other stereotyped actions of romance such as a queen with dishevelled hair throwing herself on her knees before her incensed lord and begging mercy for a subject out of favour are presented whenever a suitable occasion arises.⁵⁶

Agnes also embroiders her observations on the affairs of kings and queens with other figures of speech. In writing of Elizabeth during the years of Mary's reign she states, "Never had captive bird panted more to burst from the thralldom of a cage, than she to escape from the painful restraints and restless intrigues of the court,"⁵⁷ or in reflecting on Elizabeth's political discretion, "The chart by which she steered was marked with rocks, the quicksands, and the shoals on which the barks of other princes had been wrecked; and she knew that, of all the false beacons, that had allured the feeble minded to disgrace and ruin, the expedient of calling in foreign aid, in seasons of national distress, was the most fatal."⁵⁸

Elizabeth Strickland exhibits the same use of pageantry, ceremony, portraits, and poetry in her lives, but her style is generally more restrained than Agnes's. When she comes upon an incident which lends itself to the use of emotional epithets she refrains from the indulgence much more than Agnes. The death of King Edward VI is stated economically:

⁵⁵QE., IX, pp. 42-3.

⁵⁶See Philippa of Hainault, II, p.342; Margaret of Anjou, III, p.319; Henrietta Maria, VIII, p.166.

⁵⁷QE., VI, p.76.

⁵⁸QE., VI, p.175.

King Edward expired at Greenwich Palace, little more than a month afterwards, disinheriting, by an illegal will, not only the sister whose religion he hated, but his protestant sister Elizabeth, in order to bestow the crown on lady Jane Grey, who was younger than Elizabeth, under the pretence that she was a married woman....⁵⁹

Even the execution of Lady Jane Grey is treated with restraint:

The executions of this lovely and innocent girl and her young husband must ever be considered frightful stains on the reign of a female sovereign.⁶⁰

Agnes would have given vent to much greater indignation in a similar situation.

Elizabeth's views of particular queens often exhibit more balance and moderation. In her consideration of Mary I she endeavours to present a fresh and objective view of her reign:

Although every generous feeling is naturally aroused against the horrid cruelties perpetrated in her name, yet it is unjust and ungrateful to mention her maiden reign with unqualified abhorrence; for if the tyrannical laws instituted by her father had remained a few years more in force, the representative government of England would gradually have withered under the terrors of imprisonments and executions without impartial trial....⁶¹

She reveals that many good laws were enacted during Mary's reign, that she provided for the poor, and that she was unjustly treated by her father during her youth. She suggests that the extent of religious persecution has been greatly exaggerated by persons whose ends it suited to do so, and that the actions were done in the Queen's name by her counsellors. Nevertheless, Elizabeth was partial to the Stuarts too, although Agnes wrote most of the lives allowing scope for the indulgence of this particular preference. One sentence from the life of Henrietta Maria, by Elizabeth, will show that the two sisters were united in their attitude toward the Stuart family:

⁵⁹QE., V, pp.231-2.

⁶⁰QE., V, p.360.

⁶¹QE., V, p.421.

Again the observation is forced upon us, that never was a Stuart betrayed by one of the lower classes.⁶²

Elizabeth's style supports the Strickland view of femininity equally as forcibly as Agnes's, but she is less prone than her sister to digress from her narrative to present reflections on morals and behaviour. Her approach to biography is stated in the conclusion to her life of Mary I:

A narrative, composed of facts drawn from contemporaneous authorities, is here presented to the public as little blended with comment as possible. Readers will draw their own inferences; and when their object is historical information rather than controversy, these are really more valuable than the most elaborate essay that the pride of authorship can produce. If such inferences should induce an opinion that our first queen-regnant mingled some of the virtues of her sex, with those dark and stormy passions, which have been attributed to her, there will be fulfilled the motto which, in a mournfully prophetic spirit, she adopted for her self, that "Time unveils truth."⁶³

Agnes, on the other hand, frequently interjects didactic reflections as in this excerpt from the biography of Mary of Modena:

Nothing, in fact, is ever gained, even in a worldly point of view, by condescending to the really base; it is impossible ever to stoop low enough to please them; for persons who are conscious of deserving contempt will always despise those from whom they exact a reluctant civility, and in this they are right, since they must be aware of its insincerity.⁶⁴

Occasionally she produces an aphoristic statement to strengthen the didactic fibre of the work:

Labour dire and weary woe is the struggle for those to appear⁶⁵ consistent, who are wilfully acting a double part; it is withal useless.

Apart from such efforts to embellish the historical framework, the Stricklands wrote many sections of straightforward and unrheterical history.

⁶²QE., VIII, p.148.

⁶⁴QE., IX, p.73.

⁶³QE., V, p.450.

⁶⁵QE., VI, p.167.

Many paragraphs begin with phrases similar to those found in chronicles - "this year," "in November," "the next day," "the course of the chronology" - and following these introductions the reader is given a collection of details in a direct and unadorned manner:

This summer Elizabeth honoured Leicester with her first visit to his new manor of Kenilworth, in the course of her progress through the midland counties.

When she entered the city of Coventry, the mayor and corporation who had met and welcomed her, presented her with a purse supposed to be worth twenty marks, containing a hundred pounds in gold angels.⁶⁶

The life of each queen is presented in a chronological order which probably accounts in part for a loss of historical perspective. Instead of examining significant phases of a queen's life, the ^{author breaks the narrative} ~~narrative is broken~~ in order to follow her activities as closely as possible, month by month. We are not given any long analysis of the various stages of the relationship between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, for example. In one section of fifteen pages the biographer comments on the wedded life of Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth's own relationship with Leicester, the birth of a son to Mary and Lord Darnley, feuding between the Lords of Sussex and Leicester, Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1566, the problem of the succession to the throne and difficulties with parliament, and the Queen's interest in alchemy.⁶⁷ Such rapid shifts in subject-matter destroy the continuity of the narrative.

The lack of restraint in the use of source material also contributed to the diffuseness of the work. The Strickland sisters included many pages on some processions when a few would have sufficed, they summarized too many wardrobe accounts, they quoted whole letters when a part would have been

⁶⁶ Q.S., VI, p.250.

⁶⁷ Q.S., VI, pp.293-304.

satisfactory, and they described every effigy and portrait they had examined. Towards the end of the life of Elizabeth, for example, Agnes describes five portraits and one statue of the Queen.⁶⁸ When a judicious selection would have created the appropriate atmosphere and given the reader an impression of each age, the Stricklands presented quotations and descriptions of materials until the series assumed encyclopedic proportions.

The lack of discrimination, however, was to some extent also a merit of the Queens of England. Most of the queens had been neglected by general historians. John Lingard, who began his History of England in 1819, made only slight mention of important queens such as Matilda of Scotland and Eleanor of Aquitaine. The Stricklands by their industry helped to reveal to historians something of the mass of historical material available relating to queens and other persons, and they showed that queens often did play significant parts in the history of England. They also wrote the first lives of Berengaria of Navarre, Isabella of Valois, and Mary of Modena.

When the sisters could clear their minds of their most pronounced prejudices, they were capable of judging events correctly. Though Agnes does not seem aware of the threat of Catholicism where Mary Stuart was involved, she does recognize that all of Elizabeth's negotiations for marriage to foreign princes eventually failed because of religious differences and English distrust of foreign influence. After dealing with the death of Mary Stuart Agnes gives a more temperate account of the period involving the Armada and relates Elizabeth's difficulties with Essex without distortion. Only with the execution of Essex

⁶⁸QE., VII, pp.299-304.

does she resume her portrayal of Elizabeth as a heartless tyrant, one who could sign Essex's death warrant with a firm hand "as if she thought more of the beauty of her penmanship, than of the awful act, of giving effect to the sentence, that doomed the mangling axe of the executioner, to lay the head of her familiar friend and kinsman in the dust."⁶⁹ One feels, however, that the conditional nature of the statement and the author's bias are so pronounced that many readers would have enough discretion to ignore the Strickland viewpoint, unless it confirmed their own, and would begin to form independent opinions about Queen Elizabeth based on the great number of anecdotes presented which reveal something of her personality and the way in which her people regarded her.

The research of the Strickland sisters for the Queens of England inevitably led to the discovery of materials which would be useful in the composition of related royal biographies. They did not hesitate to exploit the apparent market for this popular type of literature.

Their industriousness is indicated by Agnes's preparation of a three-volume edition of Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Documents Connected with Her Personal History during the early years of work on the Queens of England series. The first two volumes of the Letters, published in 1842, contained translations of the letters in Aleksander Lobanov-Rostovsky's Lettres Inedites de Marie Stuart (1839), supplemented by letters from other sources to fill in some of the gaps left by the Lobanov volume. The third volume (1843) was formed from a collection commenced by Agnes and Elizabeth before the publication of the first volume of the Queens of England and from letters held in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, the latter obtained by the aid of Jane Porter and

⁶⁹QE., VII, p.263.

Mr. Atkinson, librarian in St. Petersburg. A new edition was brought out in 1844; all were published by Henry Colburn.

The editor wrote two historical introductions to the first edition, each containing commentary on the contents of the volumes. These introductions exhibit the same partiality to Mary Stuart and the same tendency to romanticise as were revealed in the life of Elizabeth. Some of Mary's letters are difficult to decipher, we are told, "because of the tears which marked her paper by falling upon it as she wrote" (I. p.xv). Queen Elizabeth, governed by "anger and jealous ill-will" (I, p.xxiv), wrote letters which are "laborious, pedantic, and mystified" (I, p.xvi), whereas Mary's are charming because of "the purity and piety of the sentiments" (I, p.xvii). These and other statements in the introductions resemble the phrases common to sentimental romances such as Agnes's own How Will It End?, and once again there is a lack of consideration of political motives in the commentary on the various letters. For example, in commenting on one of Mary's letters to her sister-in-law, the Queen of Spain, Agnes naively draws attention to the "tender allusions"^(I, p.xxvii) and "endearing expressions"^(I, p.xxviii) found there without regard to the political advantages to Mary of obtaining the support of a powerful Catholic nation like Spain.^(I, p.xxviii)

Agnes Strickland regarded her biography of Mary Stuart as the most important pursuit of her literary career. She started collecting materials for a life before she commenced writing the Queen of England, and she originally planned to produce a separate book on Mary to complement the life of Elizabeth which formed a part of the first Strickland series. These early plans were altered after the completion of the English series when the decision was made

to include a life of Mary Stuart in a series on the Scottish queens. Two volumes of a six-volume work were to be devoted to the Queen of Scots, but as the series developed the great amount of material available led to an expanded work, the life of Mary eventually involving five of an eight-volume series.

In her Introduction to the Queens of Scotland and in her letters to Blackwood Agnes writes of her "pledge to the public" concerning the life of Mary Stuart.⁷⁰ The letters, with their statements of her intention to give "an entirely new reading of her [Mary's] life and reign," and her condemnation of the pernicious influence of earlier historians and biographers,⁷¹ reveal that Agnes thought of herself as a writer with a mission - to exonerate Mary Stuart of the charges brought against her. In spite of Agnes's own conception of her work, however, the Queens of Scotland with its concentration on Mary Stuart is not as significant in the literary history of the nineteenth century as its earlier companion series. The Queens of England with its feminine emphasis and romance-like characteristics, being the first biographical series of its kind, gained immediate popularity and was the Strickland work most in demand during the later decades of the century. When the Queens of Scotland was issued from 1850 to 1859 the initial enthusiasm for female biographical literature had waned, with the result that the demand for a second edition extended only to the first three volumes. The number of followers of the Strickland series obviously dwindled as the years passed and the works continued to appear, but there was still some critical support in newspapers and periodicals, and they received considerable personal encouragement.

⁷⁰ Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 4107, f.66, 2 June, 1854.

⁷¹ Ibid., MS. 4100, f.63, 17 January, 1852; 4107, f.66, 2 June, 1854; and f.72, 10 August, 1854.

Much of this support was due to the perennial interest of readers in the reign and fate of Mary Stuart. Her career had been a subject of dispute from her own time to the present and her story had been told in biographies, histories, novels and romances, plays, operas, and poems.⁷² It had recently been told in the romances of Sir Walter Scott, The Monastery (1820) and The Abbot (1820), and Lobanov's Lettres (1839), and F.A.N. Mignet's Histoire de Marie Stuart (1851). Agnes Strickland became a part of a large group of writers when she commenced her biography of Mary feeling that she had some new and significant views and facts to add to the mammoth dialogue.

Some novelty is attempted by placing Mary Stuart at the centre of a series including her ancestors and relations. The first two volumes of the series contain biographies of Margaret Tudor, wife of James IV, Magdalene of France, first wife of James V, Mary of Lorraine, second wife of James V, and Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox. The first ^{and last} of these ^{are} by Elizabeth, the ^{middle} ~~latter~~ two by Agnes. Then follow the five volumes on Mary and an eighth volume presenting the lives of Elizabeth Stuart, eldest daughter of James VI of Scotland, and her daughter by Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate and King of Bohemia, Sophia of Hanover. This last volume is wholly by Elizabeth. Of the peripheral biographies the one of Margaret Tudor seems to be most significant, for it gives the author an opportunity to suggest that Tudor wrath, jealousy, despotism, and divorce sowed the seeds of discord in the Scottish realm. Thus the biography provides some political background for the career of Mary Stuart, but there is a didactic emphasis in it as well. Margaret Tudor

⁷²See S.A. and D.R. Tannenbaum, Mary Stuart Queen of Scots (A Concise Bibliography) (New York, 1944, 45, 46).

is presented as an example of the natural woman, lacking education and religion, who is led astray by her instincts and self-worship. Her career illustrates the evils of divorce and allows the author opportunities to advocate fortitude and control in marriage to her Victorian readers:

A succession of tragedies, for three generations, was the consequence of Margaret Tudor's indulgence of selfish passions. Nor are the woes attendant on contempt of the divine institution of marriage limited to the great ones of the earth. Many a domestic tragedy, though shrouded in the obscurity of everyday life, may be traced to the same cause. Sorrow enters with sin; it desolates the peace of the home; and unoffending children suffer for the evil of their parents, whenever persons are found to break, either by wilful passions or litigious contest, the earliest law given by the Almighty.⁷³

The author suggests that the divorces of Margaret and her brother, Henry VIII, provided evil examples which served to corrupt lower strata of society.⁷⁴

In her second volume on Mary Stuart Agnes deals with the beginnings of the bad reputation of the Queen, attributing the first insinuations against her to the designs of her natural brother, Murray (or Moray), "who consigned to the ready pen of Randolph [the English ambassador] the task of disseminating vague but malignant hints, tending to defame her, his sister and Sovereign, whom he dared neither face in the senate nor the field."⁷⁵ She quotes a letter from Randolph to Cecil, Elizabeth's principal minister, which she terms "the embryo work of villany" passed on from Murray to Randolph and thence to England. Following the letter the biographer writes that "the part of a faithful brother would have been to conceal any failings he might have detected in his father's daughter...."⁷⁶ Although Agnes makes claims of objectivity in her approach to

⁷³Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses, 8 vols. (1650-59), I, p. 268.

⁷⁴QS., I, p. 157.

⁷⁵QS., IV, p. 214. She mentions no reason for attributing the comments of Randolph to the Earl of Murray.

⁷⁶QS., IV, p. 215.

history, such is not the case and a person may adapt her statement on a faithful brother to a definition of the kind of "faithful biographer" which the Stricklands represent. Her constant policy is to refute or reject any aspersions cast on the character of Mary, Queen of Scots, in histories, biographies, letters, and documents.

Her whole-hearted, emotional defence of Mary Stuart leads to a rejection of the analysis of Scottish affairs provided by earlier historians as well as by her own contemporaries. She finds very frequent issues on which to disagree with George Buchanan, author of Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes (1571) and Rerum Scoticarum historia (1582), a contemporary observer whom she considered to be a puppet of Mary's powerful accusers; John Knox, author of The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland (1644); Randolph, the English ambassador to Scotland during Mary's reign; and William Robertson, author of History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and James VI (1759).⁷⁷ The modern historian most frequently rebuked is H. Mignet for his views of Scottish affairs in Histoire de Marie Stuart (1851). But the biographer assumes a very inconsistent position with regard to these sources. She calls false whatever statements detract from her conception of Mary as an almost faultless queen and woman, but she accepts as fact other statements

⁷⁷ Agnes's defence of Mary Stuart is almost the same as that expressed in supporting literature which emerged immediately after her flight into England. She exonerates Mary's character and attributes her troubles to the greed and malice of Scottish nobles, but she does not stress the religious factor which was suggested by early writers. A survey of sixteenth-century literature concerning Mary is provided by James E. Phillips, Images of a Queen (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964). In his chapter, "Elizabethan 'Semi-Publicity' against Mary: 1568-86," Phillips points out that Buchanan's Ane Detectioun was the principal publication surreptitiously supported by English authorities to undermine Mary's reputation.

about the Queen's movements and conversations. She sets herself up as the judge of whether or not an historian or ambassador is honest or dishonest in his report of any particular incident. Thus she accepts some portions of Lord Ruthven's "A Discourse of the late Troubles that happened in Scotland betwixt the noble and mighty Princess Mary...and her Husband Henry the King..." which tells of the assassination of David Riccio, and rejects whatever puts Mary's conduct in an unfavourable light.⁷⁸

The struggle to sustain the author's personal impressions of Mary appears in the discussions of many aspects of her career, a good example being the examination of the relationship between Mary and Darnley. Initially he is portrayed as a handsome, accomplished, promising young man with whom Mary "was ready to undertake any adventure, however wild and romantic."⁷⁹ Soon, however, his ungratefulness, his rashness, and undependability become evident. He begins to deteriorate morally in the evil company which he keeps and he develops intemperate habits.⁸⁰ He frequently absents himself from her presence. He becomes a principal conspirator for the assassination of Riccio. But Mary "refrains from relating some of the most painful circumstances which occurred, in order to avoid exposing her husband's baseness," thus exhibiting "her wifely tenderness for his reputation..."⁸¹ After the assassination "her tears and pathetic eloquence prevailed; Darnley threw himself at her feet, and in an agony of remorse besought her to forgive his crime, and restore him to her

⁷⁸Q.S., IV, pp.283-94. Ruthven's Narrative may be found in Robert Keith's The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland... (Edinburgh, 1734), Appendix no. XI, Book 11, pp. 119-29.

⁷⁹Q.S., IV, p.150.

⁸⁰Q.S., IV, p.255.

⁸¹Q.S., IV, p.287.

love, offering at the same time, to do anything she desired."⁸² Mary turned upon him "her face beaming with tenderness and joy" and forgave him. But according to Agnes, Darnley soon became wayward and deserted her. Thereafter, each time he is reported to have been in the Queen's presence is taken as a sign of reconciliation, and each departure as a falling out of favour. But in the eyes of the biographer no provocation could make the Queen dislike or hate her husband. We are constantly assured that Mary loved him. On one occasion when Darnley came to Holyrood one night and left the next morning contemporary observers state that he was chided and rebuked. But Agnes states that they

could have had no opportunity of witnessing the royal wife's pleading earnestness with her perverse consort, when she came into the cold evening air, and stood patiently without her Palace gates reasoning with his childish folly, and courting him to enter, desisting not from her endearing suit till she had with gentle force led him into her own bower of love. Many an ill-yoked gentlewoman has had to submit to hard trials of wifely forbearance, but Mary Stuart was surely the only Sovereign Princess in the world who would thus have condescended to the ungrateful creature of her bounty.⁸³

In spite of Darnley's poor personal qualities and his involvement in schemes harmful to the Queen, he is exonerated of any real guilt or responsibility for the destruction of the marriage relationship:

All her matrimonial misery had been caused, she had bitter reason to be aware, by the pernicious counsels of that selfish and ambitious traitor [Darnley's father, Lennox], who had repaid all her benefits by conspiring against her life and government, and continuing to oppose his baleful influence between his son and her.⁸⁴

The whole of Mary's career is viewed by Agnes in the framework of a vast, malignant plot to destroy her. It is a plot which involves the ministers

⁸²QS., IV, p.307.

⁸³QS., IV, p. 376.

⁸⁴QS., V, p.118.

and ambassadors of the jealous Queen Elizabeth, such as the "inimical," "unscrupulous," and "perfidious" Randolph, working in league with Mary's own Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Morton, "a secret service man of England"; the treacherous Lethington, her Secretary of State; the Earl of Lennox; the "evil" Earl of Murray, her half-brother, who hungered for power; and many other leading Scottish figures. The author's concept of such men, her ability to describe them according to her own notions and heap invective upon them are indicated by her description of a portrait of the Earl of Morton:

The curious original portrait of Morton, at Dalzahoy House, shows he was a Judas in complexion as well as character. He wears the Geneva hat, with high sloping crown and narrow brims, resembling a reversed pan or jar; but it neither conceals the villanous contour of his retreating forehead, nor the sinister glance of the small grey eyes peering from under his red shaggy brows. The very twist of his crooked nose is expressive of craft and cruelty; the long upper lip, hollow mouth, and flat square chin, are muffled in a bush of red mustache and beard; but the general outline is most repulsive, and bespeaks the hypocrite, the sensualist, the assassin, and the miser,- and all these he was. His talents were, however, such as enabled him to make men of greater abilitien his tools and stepping-stones to the seat of empire.⁸⁵

In contrast Mary is portrayed as a woman fulfilling the Victorian ideals of womanhood as presented in guide books for women and in biographies such as the Queens of England. She is a model of "wifely patience and feminine delicacy," "womanly compassion," "moral courage," "stainless integrity," "modesty," and "benevolence."

Such quotations and the dualistic view of affairs which they reflect indicate that this biography is very remote indeed from an objective and dispassionate analysis of situations and personalities. The Queens of England has many weaknesses, but the Queens of Scotland contains a multiplication of

⁸⁵QS., V, p.100.

them. A more comprehensive discussion of the life of Mary Stuart and other Scottish queens would only repeat the aspects of the Strickland work revealed in the analysis of their first series. The five volumes on Mary, indicate the same lack of orderly construction and selectiveness, trivial details appearing side by side with the complex problems of her life and reign. The passages of romance-like biography, the invective, the metaphors, the epithets, and the didactic comments appear more frequently than in the earlier series, although once again Elizabeth's greater restraint is evident in the life of Margaret Tudor.⁸⁶

Lives of the Bachelor Kings of England, another joint production of the two sisters, was published in 1861. It contains the lives of three kings - William Rufus, Edward V, and Edward VI - the latter two scarcely old enough when they died to be called bachelors. The life of Edward V was written by Elizabeth, the other two by Agnes.

The most interesting aspect of the volume is that the authors use these biographies to further their feminine theme, especially in the case of William Rufus. In presenting his life Agnes dwells on the corruption of his court and his own vulgarity and unpleasant behaviour:

Many of the Red King's outrageous sayings and doings appear to have proceeded from the coarse humour, or as phrenologists would aptly enough term it, the mirthful destructiveness of his character, unsoftened by the refined delicacy of female society, and the gentle influence of a virtuous consort. He was occasionally urged by his

⁸⁶ A summary of reviews of the Queens of Scotland would reiterate the general approval of that provided for the Queens of England. Expressions of disapproval became more frequent, but reviewers expressing such views were willing to concede the peculiar charm the series had for a segment of the reading public. See Gentleman's Magazine (January, 1851). Praise continued to appear for indefatigable research, picturesque passages, the exposition of queenly influence, delicacy in the handling of materials, minute detail, and the romance-like style.

prelates to marry, we are told; but he positively refused to submit to the restraints of wedlock, and the decorum and stately ceremonials, which the introduction of a queen would necessarily impose on his court.⁸⁷

In introducing the life of Edward V Elizabeth suggests that "the disreputable life and unlamented death" of William Rufus "warned the next fourteen sovereigns, who successively occupied the throne, of the expediency of providing themselves with queens, as indispensable to the happiness and respectability of their courts."⁸⁸ The lives of the two younger kings did not prove as fruitful for this theme, of course, but Agnes was able to emphasize "the salutary influence of that royal nursing mother of the reformation, Katharine Parr," on Edward VI.⁸⁹

Apart from William's irregularities in personal conduct this biography concentrates on his conflict with the church and especially with Bishop Odo of Bayeux and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. William left abbeys and bishoprics vacant and collected their wealth for himself, he taxed the clergy heavily, he defied the Pope, and he forced Anselm into exile. His reign was also disturbed by conflict with his brother, Robert, who laid claim to Normandy. The life of Edward V reveals the strain of attempting to write the biography of a king who was never really on the throne. The reader is informed of the young prince's virtue and learning, his court at Ludlow, his progress to London, and, in great detail, of the treachery of Richard of Gloucester. In fact the life is of necessity more concerned with the political intrigue which directly affected Edward than with actions of the King himself. The account of Edward VI is the longest of the three lives in the volume because of the greater number of chronicles, memoirs, and state papers pertaining to the period of his reign. Both of the biographies of the Edwards are chiefly compilations

⁸⁷Bachelor Kings, p. 48.

⁸⁸Ibid., p.101.

⁸⁹Ibid., p.223.

concerning political activities during each reign, and in each case the biographer suggests a greater role in affairs than the King could actually play, ignoring the fact that the council of regency made all the decisions. The reader is presented with much information on Edward VI's education, however, his delight in learning, his charming personal qualities, his part in bringing about the Reformation, and his religious writings.

The method in this volume on the Bachelor Kings is the same as that in earlier series. The life of William Rufus contains many excerpts from the chroniclers and therefore has an air of romance. For this reason, and because the reader acquires an impression of Rufus's personality through the anecdotes related about him, it is the most interesting of the three lives. One such anecdote reveals in a vivid way one of his peculiarities and also serves to illustrate Agnes's purification of a source, so that the biography would be suitable for all classes of readers. The anecdote involves William's love of fine clothes; it is reported in William of Malmesbury's Cent. Regum Anglorum:

Vestium suarum pretium in immensum extolli volebat, dedignans si quis alleviasset. Denique quodam mane, cum calciaretur novas caligas, interrogavit cubicularium quanti constitissent: cum ille respondisset, tres solidos, indignabundus et fremens, 'Fili,' ait, 'meretricis! ex quo habet rex caligas tam exilis pretii? vade, et offer mihi emptas marca argenti.' Ivit ille, et multo viliores afferens, quanti praeceperat emptas e mentitus est. 'Atqui,' inquit rex, 'istae regiae conveniunt majestati.' Ita cubicularius ex eo pretium vestimentorum ejus pro voluntate numerabat, multa perinde suis utilitatibus nundinatus.⁹⁰

It is the kind of trifling but amusing incident that the Stricklands so often included in their biographies, but Agnes tone down William's vigorous oath by having him exclaim, "Out upon you...are hosen of that price fit for a king to

⁹⁰English Historical Society edition, 2 vols. (1840), II, pp. 496-7.

wear?"⁹¹ The lives of the Edwards contain many excerpts from contemporary sources such as state papers and Edward VI's journal, and in the case of Edward V quotations from Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III, and Thomas Heywood's Edward V are employed. They are also filled out with many descriptions of portraits and ceremonies.

Lives of the Tudor Princesses (1868) was produced jointly by Agnes and Elizabeth. The lives of Mary Tudor, sister to Henry VIII, Lady Jane Gray, Lady Katharine Gray, and Lady Mary Gray were written by Elizabeth; the lives of Lady Eleanor Brandon, Lady Margaret Clifford, and Lady Arabella Stuart by Agnes. Lives of the Last Four Princesses of the Royal House of Stuart, presenting accounts of the daughters of Charles I and James II, was written by Agnes alone. The same methods and the same biased views as were noted in the Queens of England are found in these books. Anti-Tudor and anti-Cromwellian feeling emerges, and whenever the Stricklands are indignant and shocked by the actions of Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and Oliver Cromwell the usual profusion of epithets and sentimental language appears. There was less scope for the presentation of pageantry and procession in most of these lives, but such details are employed whenever they are available. There are also frequent gaps in the chronology, revealing that the sisters encountered a sparsity of material. Once again the piety, learning, courage, virtue, and good offices of these women and girls are recorded, especially in the biography of Lady Jane Gray, but such information sometimes serves to show once more the Stricklands' naïve and uncritical approach. Princess Elizabeth, the innocent daughter of Charles I,

⁹¹Bachelor Kings, p.51.

imprisoned in Sion House and Carisbrook Castle by Oliver Cromwell, is reported to have been able to read "with facility, the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages" and "to study and compare passages of the Holy Book in all the versions in which it had been rendered," before she was nine years old.⁹²

In 1666 Agnes and Elizabeth diverged from their customary pursuit of royal biographies to produce a volume which includes the lives of the seven bishops who were committed to the Tower during the reign of James II on a charge of having published "a certain false, feigned, pernicious and seditious libel" under the pretence of a petition and with the object of diminishing "royal authority, prerogative and power."⁹³ When the bishops petitioned the King to get him to excuse them from reading his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, he was extremely angry, but he promised to inform them of his decision. Someone, however, published the petition and it was hawked about the streets of London within a few hours of the bishops' visit to the King. Although popular opinion was greatly opposed to the Declaration, the King proceeded self-confidently and prosecuted the seven bishops. After a famous trial, narrated excitingly by Macaulay in his History of England, the bishops were acquitted and celebrations of the event by the people were prolonged, joyous, and widespread.

This controversy was the high point in the careers of the seven bishops, but a short time after their acquittal they were faced with another dilemma: whether to remain loyal to James or to take the oath of allegiance to William

⁹²Stuart Princesses, p.165.

⁹³George D'Oyly, The Life of William Sancroft, 2 vols. (1821), I, pp. 290-1. The discussion of the controversy and trial is in chapter VI, pp. 250-316.

and Mary. Five of the bishops - Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lake, Bishop of Chichester, White, Bishop of Peterborough, Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells - remained loyal to James and were deprived of their sees by William and Mary. The other two - Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol - took the oath of allegiance. The biographies of the former group were written by Agnes, the latter by Elizabeth. The division of the seven bishops over the problem of allegiance means that they had different political views. Their lives, therefore, are used as springboards by the authors to present the opposing political opinions, and differences in character and in the practice of religion.

The five loyal bishops are revealed by Agnes as men outstanding in their devotion to the Christian ideals. They exercise self-denial, they are charitable, humble, and sincerely interested in the welfare and education of their people. This is especially true of Sancroft and Ken whose biographies are longer than any of the others, and who, it is obvious, are more revered by the biographers. In 1662 Sancroft was chosen Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, at which time "the liberality of his sentiments, conscientious principles, and great learning and piety commanded such universal respect that his election to the mastership was unanimous, unsought for, and wholly unexpected by him."⁹⁴ Agnes says he was again completely surprised when the Archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon him, but an earlier biographer writes that the view that he had not sought the position was not very probable.⁹⁵

⁹⁴Lives of the Seven Bishops Committed to the Tower in 1683 (1866), pp. 22-3.

⁹⁵Nathaniel Salmon, The Lives of the English Bishops from the Restoration to the Revolution (1733), p.62.

That Agnes purposely made minor distortions in her biography of Sancroft in order to keep her portrayal completely favourable seems apparent. She reports that Sancroft did not accompany the other bishops to court to present the petition to James because he was ill. But she must have read Macaulay's History and consulted other books such as George D'Oyly's The Life of William Sancroft. These books state that Sancroft did not form a part of the group because he had been forbidden to appear at court.⁹⁶ Later in the biography Agnes makes no mention of the Archbishop's support in parliament of a regency to replace James, thus portraying him as completely devoted to the King.

By way of contrast, the two bishops who took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary are presented by Elizabeth as worldly men, interested in their own advancement and accessions for their friends. Elizabeth quotes several letters by Dr. Lloyd in which he flatters the Archbishop and suggests appointments for vacant positions. Mid-way through the biography the author writes, "Assuredly Sancroft must have been weary of Lloyd's perpetual importunity in behalf of one person or other."⁹⁷ She endeavours to cast odium on him by suggesting that he was responsible for having the bishops' petition printed and distributed. She condemns him as a gossip, especially for his attitude toward the birth of James II's son:

Nothing can be more contemptible than Lloyd's letter to Mr. Dodwell, dated November, 1695, relating to the events of the last years of James II; in which he defends the false pretences used by William in his declaration denouncing the spurious birth of the Prince of Wales.⁹⁸

Although Elizabeth mentions Lloyd's books and sermons, she does not emphasize his learning, his exactness as an historian, or the "natural purity and simplicity"

⁹⁶ D'Oyly, Sancroft, I, p.265, and T.B. Macaulay, The History of England, 5 vols. (1858-61), II, p.352.

⁹⁷ Bishops, p.347.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp.353-4.

of his style as Bishop Burnet does. Burnet also commends him for his meekness, holiness, and readiness to do good;⁹⁹ none of which virtues is attributed to him by Elizabeth.

Jonathan Trelawny is upbraided by his biographer for a lack of dignity, for his habit of swearing, for his solicitation for his own advancement, and for his frequent withdrawal to his country seat in Cornwall. Nothing is said about piety or charity in Elizabeth's biography of Trelawny, but he was not apparently the miser which she leads one to believe. Another biographer, whose work would have been available to the Stricklands, reports that when he was Bishop of Winchester he gave 500 guineas to the Corporation of the Sons of Clergy, and 1000 pounds to the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.¹⁰⁰ Nathaniel Salmon, a writer of brief lives of several bishops of the period, makes no mention of excessive self-interest on the part of Trelawny, and Bishop Burnet casts aspersions on Sacerott and Ken. The view depends upon the biographer.

The differences in the character of the bishops are supported by differences in style. Agnes's love of epithets is freely indulged in the attempt to create a refined or sophisticated prose which would correspond to the feelings being expressed, as in this passage from the life of Thomas Ken:

What Christian bosom but warms with a glow of loving veneration at the name of the heavenly-minded author of those sweet lyrics of the Church, the Morning Hymn and the Evening Hymn! They have been for nearly two centuries familiar to the lips of the infants of the flock as to the hoary-headed elders of the congregation, and yet they tire not - they never can tire - for they are in their sublime simplicity

⁹⁹ History of My Own Time, new edition, ed. Edmund Airy, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1897-1900), I, pp. 337-9.

¹⁰⁰ George Oliver, Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and a History of the Cathedral (Exeter, 1861), pp. 159-60.

suited to the comprehensions and adapted to the wants of all, from the youngest to the most mature, from the highest to the lowest.¹⁰¹

Epithets are especially lavished on scenes of death and parting. Elizabeth on the other hand enters into relatively little pretentiousness and writes what she has to relate quite directly.

Agnos uses the lives to express her own political views. She was decidedly anti-Cromwell as this comment on the period indicates:

Modern historians scarcely deign to mention these facts, and instead of describing the domestic miseries of civilized society, the loss of commerce and decay of trade, the absence of manufactures, the want of useful and ornamental employment, and the utter collapse of literature and art under the Protectorate, they extol the merits and virtues of Cromwell and his Ironsides. It is only in the local histories, the diaries, and private letters of that dark period, we see what their doings actually were, and marvel at the ignorance of their eulogists!¹⁰²

Tory tendencies are revealed by the praise of the five bishops who remained loyal to James and by the criticisms of Bishop Burnet, a whig historian. Agnes frequently makes observations on Burnet's opinions of the bishops, such as "It has been invidiously asserted by Bishop Burnet," or "Burnet, who never misses an opportunity of detracting from Ken."¹⁰³ No mention is made of Macaulay's magnificent account of the seven bishops. One might expect some criticism of his work because, of course, he represented the whig position, was an admirer of William of Orange, and in disagreement with the non-resistance and passive disobedience of the five bishops. In his History he points out the inconsistencies in their position when they advocated a regency for James, thus depriving him of all his powers and privileges and leaving him

¹⁰¹Bishops, p.234.

¹⁰²Ibid., p.16.

¹⁰³Ibid., pp.32 and 260.

only a shell. He writes that James's actions revealed an unsound mind, and that the oath of allegiance need not be adhered to under such conditions.¹⁰⁴ Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland could never accept such views which opposed the divine right of kings and slighted the Stuart family, but they did not contradict Macaulay openly.

The apex of the careers of Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland was, of course, the publication of the Queens of England. The series opened up a hitherto unexplored segment of historical information for nineteenth-century readers, but it has long since been supplanted by biographies which are more accurate and better adapted to modern taste and theory. In the theory of Harold Nicolson and other twentieth-century critics the requirements of "pure" biography are historical truth, artistic construction, critical detachment, and consciousness of creation, meaning the selection and arrangement of facts in an intelligent manner.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately the Stricklands fall short of all of these modern standards, but they did have theoretical support for their approach to biography in the nineteenth century.

In chapter three the biographical theory of preceding female biographers¹⁰⁶ was discussed and attention drawn to the similarity of that theory to the Stricklands' views in that it advocated didacticism and the use of a great many domestic and picturesque details in order to reveal something of the times as well as the character. One of the principal reviews of Lives of the Queens of Scotland also lends support to the Strickland method.¹⁰⁶ Archibald Alison,

¹⁰⁴ Macaulay, History, II, p.635.

¹⁰⁵ Harold Nicolson, The Development of English Biography (4th impression, 1959), pp.9-13; Edgar Johnson, One Mighty Torrent (New York, 1937), p.40; and John Garraty, The Nature of Biography (1958), p.38.

¹⁰⁶ Archibald Alison, "Biography," Blackwood's Magazine, LIX (1851), 40-51.

the reviewer, suggests that biography is one of the most popular types of reading matter because it combines an air of reality with a sense of the ideal, as fiction does, but with the additional merit that it exhibits a solid base of information. "It possesses the value of history, without its tedium - the interest of romance, without its unsubstantiality." It is to the mingling of romance and history that Alison attributes much of the popularity of the Strickland works, but he also gives firm support to their method of accumulating minute detail:

As biography deals with individual characters, and is relieved from the extended and perplexing subjects which overwhelm the general historian, it admits, in return, of an expansion into many topics which, although often in the highest degree amusing, and sometimes not a little interesting, would yet be felt to be misplaced in the annals of the great changes of nations or of the world. As the delineation of character is its avowed object, and the events of individual life its principal subject, it not only admits of but requires a thousand incidents and descriptions, which are essential to a right understanding of those characters, and form, as it were, the still life of the picture in which their features are to be portrayed.... They fill up our conception of past events; they enable us to clothe the characters in which we are interested in the actual habiliments in which they were arrayed; they bring before our eyes the dwellings, the habits, the mode of life, the travelling, the occupations of distant ages, and often give more life and reality to the creatures of our imagination than could have been attained by the most laboured general descriptions, or the most emphatic assertions of the author.

Alison goes on to state that biography is the most suitable form of historical composition for women to write because it involves the collection of minutiae, and because "of the known influence of individual character on the fair sex, rather than abstract principle...." In this opinion he was supported by many reviewers of the Queens of England, and by the popularity of the form with female authors. Alison does, of course, state the necessity for truth in

biography, but he defends Agnes's attitude to the Stuarts on the grounds of "the spirit of chivalry in her soul" and her effort to redress the imbalance of history by defending the maligned individual.

The didacticism of the Queens of England was given contemporary support by the widespread desire for moral earnestness stemming from such forces as evangelicalism which disapproved of the moral effects of such fiction. Once again many reviewers and such theorists as Edwin Paxton Hood approved of this aspect of biography. One of Hood's classifications of biography is "Didactic"; "every life has some central lesson, and this might be obtained, distilled, and presented to the reader."¹⁰⁷ Edmund Lodge in his Preface to Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain (1821) also approves of the usefulness of the "moral effects" of biography. There was, then, considerable critical support for the characteristics of Lives of the Queens of England in addition to the public approval which is indicated by the demand for the work during half a century.

¹⁰⁷The Uses of Biography: Romantic, Philosophic, and Didactic (1852), p.92. The Strickland biographies would also be included in Hood's "Pictorial" category.

CHAPTER VI

The Stricklands in Canada

With emigration to North America in 1832, the literary careers of Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill lapsed temporarily. From 1832 to 1835 their only published work consisted of a few short pieces sent back to England for the Lady's Magazine, and to Toronto and New York for the Canadian Literary Magazine and the Albion. But they took with them to Canada literary habits and ambitions that did not easily die, and in addition it was common for educated travellers and emigrants to write books about their New World observations and experiences. Susanna and Catharine wrote two of the most enduring of such books, and even Samuel Strickland, who had written nothing before, was persuaded to produce his own account.

Samuel Strickland's emigration preceded that of his sisters and their husbands by seven years, so that he was already well established in the Peterborough area of Upper Canada by 1832. He prospered in Canada and was able to visit Raydon Hall in 1852, at which time Agnes and Elisa requested that he write of his life in the colony. Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West (1853) is a combined autobiography and emigrant's handbook, having as its main themes the importance of industry and the value of independence. Samuel optimistically states that "nothing, indeed, but industry and enterprise is

needed to change the waste and solitary places of Upper Canada into a garden of Eden....,"¹ and he predicts that when the emigrant, especially a working-class man, perceives that his future depends on his own initiative, his "best energies" will be called forth and a transformation in character effected:

Having to act and think for himself, and being better acquainted with the world, he soon becomes a theoretical as well as a practical man, and consequently a cleverer and more enlightened person, than he was before in his hopeless servitude in the mother-country.²

In order to advocate and illustrate his themes Samuel gives practical advice to the prospective emigrant and relates the successes of his own career.

Practical advice and information dominate the second volume of the book wherein the author outlines the qualities which the emigrant should possess, and gives accounts of climate, geography, trades, municipalities, and the need for religious and educational institutions. The possibilities of life in Canada are illustrated by the "History of a Poor Emigrant" who successfully establishes himself in the new homeland, and local colour is provided by three chapters on the customs of the Indians.³

But the most interesting parts of the book concern Samuel's own story. His adjustment to Canada was different from that of his sisters and their husbands because he crossed the Atlantic as an eager young man. It becomes apparent very early in the book that Samuel heartily approved of the climate and found great delight in his observation of the scenery and pursuit of field sports. His history reflects a spirit of adventure and the tendency

¹ Twenty-Seven Years, ed. Agnes Strickland, 2 vols. I, p.65.

² Ibid., I, p.266.

³ For his informative chapters Samuel frequently draws on other sources; Pierre F.X. de Charlevoix's Journal of a Voyage to North America, 2 vols (1761), John Galt's Autobiography, 2 vols (1833), and John MacGregor's British America, 2 vols. (1832).

of the true pioneer to move on to new frontiers. After two years of farming his own land in the Otonabee district, he accepted a position with the Canada Company, and, after he left its service in 1831, he sold his land in Otonabee and moved to uncleared acreage in Douro, ten miles further in the backwoods, where the land was more picturesque and there were better opportunities for fishing and shooting.⁴

The style of Samuel's book is direct and graphic when he is relating his own various and interesting settling experiences, but the work was supervised by his sisters and whenever marriage, death, or domestic relationships are mentioned the narrative takes on a formality and sentimentality that one is inclined to attribute to their part in its production. Although the book is diffuse, the contents make it a valuable and interesting work from the historical point of view.

Because of their literary backgrounds and skills, Catharine and Susanna wrote books of greater literary significance than Samuel's. Their volumes are stylistically superior to many of the early Canadian informative accounts and they have more affiliations with the literature and attitudes of the time.

Both The Backwoods of Canada (1836) and Roughing It in the Bush (1852) may be classed as domestic literature, especially the former. Mrs. Traill's book is, at least partially, the New World equivalent of such English guidebooks as Mrs. John Sandford's Woman in her Social and Domestic Character (1831), although the form and content are different.⁵ Her purpose is "to afford every

⁴Twenty-Seven Years, II, p.150.

⁵Mrs. Sandford's book was only one of many such volumes published about that time; Sarah Ellis's series beginning with The Women of England (1839) was very popular. Both are books of essays on such topics as duties, influence, education, manners, and domestic habits.

possible information to wives and daughters of emigrants of the higher class who contemplate seeking a home amid our Canadian wilds," and she asserts that "a woman's pen alone can describe half that is requisite to be told of the internal management of a domicile in the backwoods...."⁶ The main theme of the volume is that the emigrant wife must strive to be a cheerful and contented partner, that she must make a "home" in Canada rather than pine for what has been left in England.

In fulfilment of her purpose Catharine states the problems to be faced and the resourcefulness with which they could be overcome. Because general household supplies were often difficult to obtain, poor roads and great distances being serious obstacles, the author informs her readers about a substitute tea made with hemlock sprigs, the abundance of wild fruits, the manufacture of maple syrup and sugar, and the making of "bars" for yeast. In an appendix she includes a section of recipes and other domestic information.⁷

The greatest difficulties of the backwoods wife, however, were loneliness and isolation. The new arrival was inevitably led to thoughts of home:

As I sat in the wood in silence and in darkness, my thoughts gradually wandered back across the Atlantic to my dear mother and to my old home; and I thought what would have been your feelings could you at that moment have beheld me as I sat on the cold mossy stone in the profound stillness of that vast leafy wilderness, thousands of miles from all those holy ties of kindred and early associations that make home in all countries a hallowed spot.⁸

⁶The Backwoods of Canada, 3rd edition (1838), p.1. I am using the 3rd edition because it contains a letter on the rebellion of 1837 which Mrs. Traill added to the original volume.

⁷The domestic aspects of The Backwoods are expanded by Catharine in The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian House-keeping (Toronto, 1854) for which there was apparently a great demand, a tenth edition being called for by 1860. As in The Backwoods she cautions the emigrant against seeking to settle without the aid of a wife. Her initial advice to the wife is to avoid the vain and foolish in her preparations. She then proceeds to outline how to establish a simple, but comfortable and attractive, home in the woods by making use of natural resources

In order to counteract psychological problems Mrs. Traill shows that there were compensations for the hardships to be endured.

The emigrant could be sustained by a hope for the future and a feeling that industry and perseverance could impose order on the wilderness and create a land of plenty:

Depend upon it, my dear, your Canadian farm will seem to you a perfect paradise by the time it is all under cultivation; and you will look upon it with more pleasure and pride from the consciousness that it was once a forest wild, which, by the effects of industry and well-applied means, has changed to fruitful fields. Every fresh comfort you realize around you will add to your happiness; every improvement within-doors or without will raise a sensation of gratitude and delight in your mind, to which those that revel in the habitual enjoyment of luxury, and even of the commonest advantages of civilization, must in a great degree be strangers. My pass-words are, 'Hope! Resolution! and Perseverance!'

Closely connected with hope was a sense of liberty. Although Catharine and her husband emigrated for economic reasons, they took with them an awareness of class distinctions. But the Traills discovered that the motives for the emigration of many other British people were independence and equality. They were frequently confronted with the republican feelings of other settlers, and Mrs. Traill grew fond of the more flexible social structure:

And I must freely confess to you that I do prize and enjoy my present liberty in this country exceedingly: in this we possess an advantage over you....Now, we bush-settlers are more independent: we do what we like; we dress as we find most suitable and most convenient; we are totally without fear of any Mr. or Mrs. Grundy; and having shaken off the trammels of Grundyism, we laugh at the absurdity of those who voluntarily forge afresh and hug their chains.¹⁰

(continued from previous page)

and by cultivating an interest in details of the surroundings. In addition to many recipes and practical hints, the volume contains pleasant descriptions of the mood and activities of each month of the year.

⁸ Backwoods of Canada, p.118.

⁹ Ibid., pp.126-7.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp.269-70.

Other compensating factors were the "blessings" which the female immigrant could possess. Catharine had a growing family to love and care for, and she anticipated their security and comfort in Canada, but she discovered another current interest for her self as well.

Soon after her arrival in Upper Canada she found in the flora and fauna of the country a vast reservoir of fascination and delight. Here was a suitable subject of study for female settlers and Catharine urged her readers to cultivate the mind by developing an interest in their surroundings:

She would willingly direct their attention to the natural history and botany of this new country, in which they will find a never-failing source of amusement and instruction, at once enlightening and elevating the mind, and serving to fill up the void left by the absence of those lighter feminine accomplishments, the practice of which are necessarily superseded by imperative domestic duties.¹¹

On her own part Mrs. Traill decided to develop a skill which her sister, Eliza, had tried to encourage^{her} to pursue in Suffolk, and she set out "to redeem this country from the censure cast on it by a very clever gentleman I once met in London, who said, 'the flowers were without perfume, and the birds without song....'"¹² One letter in The Backwoods, number XIV, is devoted wholly to botanical information, and descriptions of birds, plants, and picturesque scenes appear incidentally in others. Mrs. Traill provides scientific names along with her descriptions, although the only technical book she owned was Frederick Pursh's Flora Americae Septentrionalis (1814), and, when a plant did not appear in her guide, she named it. Her knowledge of plants and her skill in describing them increased during the three-year period covered by her book and she nourished a life-long interest which was to dominate her literary career.

¹¹Ibid., p.4.

¹²Ibid., p.91.

Her approach to her studies was spiritual and aesthetic. She was showing other Canadians that Nature was not simply something to hew down, clear, and cultivate, but something to identify oneself with, something to assimilate mentally, "a ladder to heaven, as it were...teaching a child to look with love and admiration to that bountiful God who created and made flowers so fair to adorn and fructify this earth."¹³ Her descriptions are marked by a general tone of delight and enthusiasm, and by metaphors and similes which indicate an imaginative response to a particular object or scene:

The first, then, is a magnificent water-lily, that I have called by way of distinction the 'queen of the lakes,' for she sits a crown upon the waters. This magnificent flower is about the size of a moderately large dahlia; it is double to the heart; every row of petals diminishing by degrees in size, and gradually deepening in tint from the purest white to the brightest lemon colour. The buds are very lovely, and may be seen below the surface of the water, in different stages of forwardness from the closely folded bud, wrapped in its olive-green calix, to the half-blown flower, ready to emerge from its watery prison, and in all its virgin beauty expand its snowy bosom to the sun and genial air.¹⁴

This spiritual and aesthetic approach connects Catharine's work to the creative literature of later Canadian writers, and it also helps to place her book in a tradition that includes Gilbert White's Natural History of Selborne (1789), and Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer (1782). Both of these books contain letters on natural history and therefore provided appropriate models for Mrs. Traill. This is especially true of the Crèvecoeur volume, for it also contains information on the settling process, and Mrs. Traill had read his book.¹⁵

¹³Ibid., p.254.

¹⁴Ibid., pp.255-6.

¹⁵She refers to it in The Young Emigrants.

The publication of The Backwoods in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge was followed by the appearance of some of Catharine's work in popular British journals. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal printed some excerpts from the book and some new sketches - "The Mill of the Rapids, a Canadian Sketch," "Canadian Lumberers," and "A Canadian Scene."¹⁶ In the late 1840's and early 1850's some of her sketches and stories were presented in Sharpe's London Journal and the Home Circle.¹⁷ Most of these items are informative and anecdotal, some of them designed to popularize the settling experience. "The Settlers Settled; or, Pat Connor and His Two Masters," traces the necessary emigration of two families and the solution of their problems in the New World, but it also presents some informative passages on Canadian life.¹⁸

In Canada a long series of "Forest Cleanings" was published in the Anglo-American Magazine, including some of the items which had appeared in Sharpe's London Journal. "The Block House" is the story of a particular settler, "The Lodge in the Wilderness" is a fictional treatment of Mrs. Traill's own arrival in the Peterborough area, and "Humours of Holy Eve" contains anecdotes of the introduction of a Scottish custom to Canada.¹⁹ Some items in the series are natural history essays. The Literary Garland and the Victoria Magazine also contain some of Mrs. Traill's writings, chiefly prose pieces with Old World settings. The best of these items are "The Baron," a story which successfully portrays the character of a playful, waggish girl, and "Thoughts on May-day," a reminiscence of Catharine's girlhood days in Suffolk and a comparison of

¹⁶See VII (1838), .322-23, 380-1; XII (1843), .79. The last item is not definitely by Mrs. Traill, but it is about her area of Canada.

¹⁷These contributions are indicated in Part One, section VIII of the bibliography.

¹⁸Sharpe's London Journal, X (1849), .107-10, 137-42, 274-7, 335-40.

¹⁹See I (1852), pp. 513-18, II (1853), .33-9, III (1853), .92-3, 493-8. Other items are listed in the bibliography.

English and Canadian customs on that day.²⁰

After the publication of The Backwoods of Canada Mrs. Traill wrote natural history notebooks which became the sources of her later volumes of natural history essays and fiction.²¹ Indications of her delight in the study of botany may be found in The Female Emigrant's Guide (1854), but it was not until 1869 that a purely botanical work, Canadian Wild Flowers, was published.²² It was superseded in 1885 by her Studies of Plant Life in Canada, a large collection of botanical essays. Her purpose was threefold: she wanted to preserve a record of flowers and shrubs which were rapidly disappearing, she wanted to awaken "a love for the natural productions of the country, and a desire to acquire more knowledge of its resource," and she wanted her readers to realise the wonder of God's creation. To accomplish her purposes she adopted a "familiar style"²³ which she hoped would permit her book to occupy a place in the literature of Canada similar to that held by Gilbert White's Natural History of Selborne in England.

Although she provides the technical details of plants, the author does not limit herself to scientific description. She includes Indian lore and legend which she had gleaned from members of the tribe in her area, and, whenever appropriate, lines from the work of well-known poets who had written about particular flowers. The essays are sometimes enlivened by anecdotes of backwoods life and tributes^{to} the resourcefulness and industry of early settlers, or they

²⁰Literary Garland, n.s., IV (1846), .180-5, 212-13.

²¹Some of her notebooks are in the possession of T.R. McCloy of Calgary, Alta.

²²Painted and lithographed by Agnes FitzGibbon with botanical descriptions by C.P. Traill (Montreal, 1869). The descriptions offered in this volume display the same characteristics as those contained in the later and more comprehensive volume, Studies of Plant Life in Canada.

²³Studies of Plant Life, new edition (Toronto, 1906), p.vii.

are given nostalgic touches when life in Suffolk is recalled. Even more important to the qualification of this book as a collection of essays, however, is the author's sensitivity to the peculiarities of each species and her appreciation of the contribution^{it} makes to the atmosphere of wood or field:

The Climbing Bittersweet is a rapid grower, and consequently a bold enemy that takes forcible possession of any young sapling which comes within its reach; a very Old Man of the Sea that, once fixed, no blast of wind can shake off. But while we take the liberty of railing at the unconscious intruder, we must not omit to dwell upon its good qualities. Its brilliant scarlet arils (coverings of the seeds) and orange fruit, that in profusion ornament the tree about which it twines, enliven the dull woods at a season when bright tings have ceased to charm the eye and all the glories of maple, cherry, birch, ash, and beech lie mouldering on the ground at our feet. We may then look upwards to some slender silver-barked birch or gray butternut and admire the gorgeous scarlet²⁴ festoons that hang so gracefully among the naked leafless branches.

In combination with the author's frequent religious response to the harmony and beauty of nature, the above characteristics help to make Studies of Plant Life equally as much a volume of familiar essays as a botanical guidebook.

Pearls and Pebbles (1894) again draws upon the notebooks written by Mrs. Traill at various periods of her long life; its contents are therefore diverse. The collection opens with a bucolic essay about youthful activities on the banks of the Waveney in Suffolk, and this is followed by "Sunset and Sunrise on Lake Ontario: A Reminiscence" which reveals the author's initial enthusiasm for the scenery of Canada. Four chapters on birds contain humorous observations of their habits, and discussions on instinct, song, and habitat. The remainder of the book presents essays on such topics as insects, grasses, vegetable instinct, and Indians, but the most successful chapters are those

²⁴Ibid., p.190.

which convey the author's own delight in nature and succeed in capturing the mood of the forest. In the chapter "In the Canadian Woods" she anticipates such later nature essayists as Bliss Carman and Samuel Wood.²⁵

In the 1850's Catharine produced two works of fiction in which she endeavoured to combine adventure with some of her favourite natural history topics for the youthful British reader. The first of these books, Canadian Crusoes (1852), is a story of survival in the Canadian wilderness, and the second is a book of dialogues and stories in which a child learns about her new homeland. Much of the information is common to both books.

Canadian Crusoes is the more successful book because of its unity and adventurous plot. Three children, Catharine, Hector, and their first cousin, Louis, lose their way in the forest while on an excursion in search of their fathers' cattle and wild berries in the Beaver Meadow. Their attempts to discover the homeward path only lead them further astray until their situation is complicated by Catharine's sprained ankle, and they are forced to construct temporary living quarters near the shores of the vast Rice Lake. With the realization that they do not know which direction to pursue in order to reach home, the three youths resolve to build a more satisfactory shelter on a plain overlooking the lake and begin gathering provisions for the approaching winter. Their preparations are halted temporarily when a band of Indians lands near their camp and the youths deem it prudent to retreat. Upon their return to the shore they rescue a wounded Indian maiden who has been left to die. Her

²⁵Carman's essays in The Kinship of Nature (1903) are less specific than Mrs. Traill's; they suggest the moods of the seasons in a hypnotic kind of prose. Samuel Wood, author of Rambles of a Canadian Naturalist (1916), muses on the movements of his subjects as Mrs. Traill does, and notes details carefully.

restoration to health proves extremely valuable to the white children, for their new friend teaches them wood-lore which will enable them to survive in reasonable comfort and security. On both sides the young people acquire new languages, the white children learn of Indiana's background and her involvement in an Indian war, and they instruct her in their religion in return. After two years in the wilderness Catharine is captured by an Indian band and taken up the Otonabee River. Indiana follows and offers her own life for Catharine's freedom. As preparations are made for the Indian girl's death, Jacob Morelle, an old trapper and acquaintance of the children's fathers, arrives, but he is not successful in a plea for Indiana's life. At the moment of execution, the beautiful daughter of the chief, a mysterious recluse whom her tribesmen regard in awe, claims the right to Indiana and frees her. Morelle leads the wanderers back to the parental settlement, where shortly afterward Catharine and Louis, Hector and Indiana are married.

Of more significance than the plot is the presentation of the setting in which the children move. Mrs. Traill knew the formation of the district, the resources available in pioneer days, and the history of Indian conflict there. Such details of the story are authentic, and the way in which the children make use of the natural resources to feed and clothe themselves is largely plausible. The book informed young British readers of what they could expect to find in the Canadian forest and what climatic changes they would have to endure; it is a kind of emigrant's handbook for young people. . As Mrs. Traill describes it, the forest is a fascinating place because of its variety of moods: it can be serene and peaceful, light and gay, or dark and mysterious. The paradox of/
abundance of

life in the midst of an overwhelming sense of solitude is frequently her theme.

The Canadian Crusoes is also an ethical guide. Mrs. Traill reveals Victorian optimism in that her children remain civilized in a savage environment; they are calm and sensible, they behave generously towards one another, and they exhibit the practicality and resourcefulness of the New World settler:

To be up and doing, is the maxim of a Canadian; and it is this that nerves his arm to do and bear. The Canadian settler, following in the steps of the old Americans, learns to supply all his wants by the exercise of his own energy. He brings up his family to rely upon their own resources, instead of depending upon his neighbours.²⁶

Lady Mary and Her Nurse (1856)²⁷ containing some of the same subject matter as Canadian Crusoes, is a collection of dialogues and stories for younger readers, and it is similar to the kind of mentor and student book which Mrs. Traill wrote earlier in her career. The volume is virtually a miniature encyclopedia of Canada and, although it is a discursive work, the variety of its contents and the enthusiasm of both child and nurse in their dialogues reveal Mrs. Traill's own eagerness to tell the children of Britain about her new homeland. The speech of the child is far more natural here than it was in Catharine's early books:

'Oh, nurse, a humming-bird -- a real humming-bird -- pretty creature! but it is gone. Oh, nurse, it darts through the air as swift as an arrow. What was it doing? Looking at the honey suckles, - I dare say it thought them very pretty; or was it smelling them? They are very sweet.'²⁷

In the nurse's narrative too a tone which would appeal to very young children is successfully created. The author produces a game-like atmosphere to tell about the singing of frogs in early spring:

²⁶ Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains, ed. Agnes Strickland (1852), pp. 245-6.

²⁷ Lady Mary and Her Nurse (1856), p.147.

You might fancy a droll sort of dialogue was being carried on among them.

At first, a great fellow, the patriarch of the swamp, will put up his head, which looks very much like a small pair of bellows, with yellow leather sides; and say in a harsh, guttural tone, 'Go to bed, go to bed, go to bed.'

After a moment's pause, two or three will rise and reply, 'No, I won't! no, I won't! no, I won't!'²⁸

A playful tone characterizes the longest section of the book, a three-part "History of the Squirrel Family."²⁹ Much attention is given to the setting, but, as in the fable, the squirrels are given speaking voices and their actions contain lessons for human beings on the folly of idleness and imprudence, and the value of industry and freedom. The author certainly numbers independence among the chief merits of life in Canada. Lady Mary is informed at the beginning of her visit that "people need not beg in Canada...a poor man can soon earn enough money to keep himself and his little ones."³⁰

The author's intention seems to have been to popularize life in Canada. There are many alluring descriptions of scenery in the volume, and even the fearful winter proves to be a delight with its light, dry snow, frosted trees, and pleasant sleigh-rides. Indeed, the nurse is so successful in her presentation that Lady Mary is reluctant to return to England and has to be reminded that "England and Scotland are finer places than Canada."³¹ It seems that Mrs. Traill's memories of her native land had dimmed by 1856 and that her delight in Nature had enabled Canada to assume first place in her loyalty.

²⁸ Lady Mary, p.77.

²⁹ Mrs. Traill's last book, Cot and Cradle Stories (Toronto, 1895), is a collection of twenty stories for very young children, written as early as 1813 and as late as 1895. There are more stories about the Strickland children in Suffolk, moral tales, and natural history stories about a variety of animals and birds, including another squirrel family. Such stories contain information about the habits of the creatures and lessons on God's care for them. Many of the items such as "The Great Green Dragon-fly and his Friends," which recalls Ma. Roscoe's The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast (1807), "Tat and Tit: the Ground Squirrels of Minnewawa," and "Mrs. Margery Pie; or, Prating Punished" are genuinely entertaining stories for young children.

³⁰ Lady Mary, p.5.

³¹ Ibid., pp.202-3.

Mrs. Moodie's writing career probably recommenced in the late autumn of 1838³² when she received an invitation to contribute to the newly formed Literary Garland (1838-51), a Montreal publication. During the period of its publication Susanna was able to earn from twenty to forty pounds per annum;³³ she was the Garland's principal contributor in point of volume, her contributions consisting of fiction, verse, and sketches of Canadian life based on her own experience. Some of the stories had appeared earlier in British periodicals in a skeletal form, and two of them were later published in book form.³⁴ The Canadian sketches and many of the verses also became portions of books in the decade following the cessation of the Garland.

Since the Garland ^{contains} includes most of Susanna's published verse, including almost half of the poems contained in her only volume of verse, this seems a suitable stage at which to discuss her poetic ability. As in the careers of many women of her generation, Susanna's opportunity to have her verse published came with the rise of the gift-books, for such publications formed a market for poems suited to the explication of engravings depicting sentimental scenes and sublime scenery. Her compositions began to appear quite frequently in various publications by the late 1820's, especially in Forget-Me-Not and Friendship's Offering. By 1831 she had written enough poems to form a volume of 214 duodecimo pages.

³²In her Introduction to Mark Hurdlestone (1853), p.vii, Mrs. Moodie writes that she received a request for contributions from Mr. Lovell in the December of 1837 and that the Garland was begun that fall. But the first issue of the Garland was in December, 1838, and Susanna's first contribution appeared in May, 1839. The request from Mr. Lovell probably came in December, 1838.

³³Ibid., p.xvii. Mrs. Moodie writes that she asked five pounds per sheet and got it, but she probably refers to a quarto sheet.

³⁴The skeletal form of Mark Hurdlestone was published in the Lady's Magazine; an extended version appeared in the Garland and the book came out in 1853. A short version of "Jane Redgrave" was published in La Belle Assemblée, and "Geoffrey Moncton" was issued as a novel in 1854. "The Doctor Distressed" also appeared in the Lady's Magazine and was published later in Matrimonial Speculations.

The title poem of Enthusiasm and Other Poems is representative of the subject-matter and tone of the book as a whole. The author considers enthusiasm or zeal as a requisite for success in any venture. She examines the part it plays in the vocation of the poet, the painter, the warrior, but in each case zeal is misdirected; the transience of all earthly things renders such pursuits fruitless. The only subjects worthy of the enthusiastic approach are the word of God and Nature, which reveals the power of God. The author closes her poem with intimations of a promised land which she cannot articulate, and an awareness that all of man's labours are swallowed up in the "waters of oblivion." As this poem indicates Mrs. Moodie is a "prophet of doom"; her whole book is a warning to the reader. She cautions him against the pursuit of fame, she describes the deluge, she writes of bloody, human conflict, and she paraphrases ominous prophetic passages from the Old Testament. In keeping with such subjects are eulogies to the memory of pious persons, and reflections on graves and ruins. Perhaps the poem of most importance in the light of her other work is "An Appeal to the Free," another account of negro slavery and an attempt to awaken her countrymen to its wrongs.

The long poems in her book consist of paragraphs in blank verse or tetrameter couplets, both favourite eighteenth-century forms, and such work is dominated by an excess of stale and sentimental epithets. Several of the shorter pieces in the volume are modelled on the melodies of Byron and Moore. The religious emphasis confirms the meditative and emotional temperament which earlier led ^{to} the author's conversion at the ^{Congregational} ~~nonconformist~~ church in Wrentham, and the emphasis is continued in her contributions to the Garland, chiefly

because nineteen of her Enthusiasm poems are reprinted and some items which she had written before her emigration appear for the first time. "The Apostate," for example, is a long, four-part narrative about a young man who is led away from a pastoral home, youthful love, and religious faith by the material ways of the city. He becomes dissolute and, like the prodigal son, returns home only to find his mother dead, and his faithful Elinor devoting herself to prayer and charitable acts. Richard is already in decline and he fades rapidly, but before dying he rediscovers his faith and expires peacefully. The poem is in no way distinctive; Mrs. Moodie was simply producing verse for a reading public whose taste was for the sentimental and pious.

She does have a very minor place in the development of poetry in Canada. When she occasionally turned her attention to the Canadian scene and wrote about seasons, customs, and events, as in "The Indian Fisherman's Light," "The Otonabee," and "The Canadian Herd-Boy," she wrote her best poems. In the latter poem there is a tension between the cheerful, lyric form and several ominous images which epitomizes a prominent aspect of the settling experience, for the settler both delights in the landscape and sees it as a fearful opponent to be conquered.

Through the deep woods, at peep of day,
The careless herd-boy wends his way,
By piny ridge and forest stream,
To summon home his roving team -
Cobos! cobos! from distant dell
Shy echo wafts the cattle-bell.

.

"See the dark swamp before him throws
A tangled maze of cedar boughs;
On all around deep silence broods,
In nature's boundless solitudes.
Cobos! cobos! the breezes swell,
As nearer floats the cattle-bell."³⁵

³⁵Life in the Clearings, ed. R.L. McDougall (Toronto, 1959), p.204.

Susanna's prose also reveals the tension of the attempt to plant the roots of culture in a new country. Her novels are set in the Old World and therefore possess an air of romance that appealed to her Canadian readers, but her sketches, which also have English connections, bear a realistic tone which caused Canadian fears that such writing might dampen the hopes of prospective emigrants.

Mark Hurdlestone, the Gold Worshipper (1853) and The Horntons (1856) are based on the conflicting-brothers motif. In the case of the former the motif is presented twice: first in the conflict between Mark and Algernon Hurdlestone, and then between their sons. Mark is miserly, cold, and cruel in contrast to Algernon who is generous, warm, and in love with life. In their sons a reversal takes place, for Algernon's son, Geoffrey, is dishonest, irresponsible, and malicious, and Mark's son, Anthony, is serious, loyal, and sensitive. The action is concerned mostly with the sons in a conflict that allows for much didactic authorial comment and religious advice, for it is based on selfishness and selflessness. Anthony is a Christ-like figure, willing to suffer for the wrongs of his cousin and to deny his own desires in order to preserve the good name of his uncle. He develops a love of his own father in spite of the fact that he has never been the recipient of affection or worldly wealth from him. An illogical sense of loyalty acts as a pulley for the action and allows the novel to be drawn away from reality into the world of romance. Anthony is willing to give up his life for a concept of honour which ironically permits the advancement of evil. The hero, of course, is saved in a final melodramatic scene and the evil one is punished. Unfortunately any illusion of the real world is also lost sight of in a mass of clichés,

ostentatious metaphors, and implausible emotional scenes.

The Monctons is more digressive than Mark Rurdlestone. A host of characters necessitates several retrospective episodes which must explain why one character is seeking revenge, or why another must endure the early years of his life under the stigma of illegitimacy. Despite the flashbacks, and the multiplicity of characters, the eventual outcome is quite obvious early in the romance because of the sharply defined good and evil characters. The book is dominated by the latter, for the plot involves intrigue, deceit, frustration, and murder. But these features are mingled with religious scenes, death-bed repentances, and expressions of willingness to leave this cruel life.

Some Dickensian influence seems apparent in The Monctons. Geoffrey, the hero, like one of Dickens's orphans, works for long bitter years in the law office of his demanding guardian. But he spares no effort to improve himself and overcome his barriers to success. The romance also presents a multiplicity of characters which rivals the number in a Dickens novel, some of them being very eccentric types.

The World Before Them (1868) departs from the brother conflict only to the extent of contrasting male and female. It also includes another orphan and the stigma of illegitimacy to be removed when the lord of the manor is able to reveal that he had secretly married the heroine's mother. As Dorothy's fortunes rise because of her generosity and religious faith, her former childhood companion, Gilbert, succumbs to his impetuous nature, makes an unwise marriage, and degenerates to alcoholism, attempted murder, and suicide. Once again the plot includes long digressions and many scenes of enthusiastic, religious affirmation.

Mrs. Moodie's novels were intended to show that vice is always punished and virtue rewarded, but she failed to render the illusion of reality which she was capable of producing; for her Old World scenes and fictional characters she too frequently drew upon her store of stock phrases and actions. She probably recognized this weakness, for in an essay on the novel she notes that good characters in fiction are often insipid and that cant in religious novels is unattractive to readers. Her comments are contained in a defence of the novel which first appeared in the Literary Garland,³⁶ and was later included in Life in the Clearings in her chapter on Toronto. Her purpose was to allay the fears of devout persons who felt that "works of fiction have a demoralizing effect, and tend to weaken judgement, and enervate the mind."³⁷ Her defence rests on the belief that the best novels are founded on fact or are true to life, and that they are didactic or serve to enlighten the public about human wrongs and weaknesses. As an example of the latter type she cites the works of Dickens and Eugene Sue, and she strenuously upbraids persons who self-righteously reject novels which display unpleasant aspects of human behaviour:

You cannot bear to have these sad realities presented to your notice. It shocks your nerves. You cannot bring yourself to admit that these outcasts of society are composed of the same clay; and you blame the authors who have dared to run a tilt against your prejudices, and have not only attested the unwelcome fact, but have pointed out the causes which lead to the hopeless degradation and depravity of these miserable fellow-creatures. You cannot read the works of these humane men, because they bid you step with them into these dirty abodes of guilt and wretchedness, and see what crime really is, and all the horrors that ignorance and poverty, and a want of self-respect, never fail to bring about.³⁸

This demonstrative passage perhaps reveals Mrs. Moodie's humanitarianism better

³⁶"A Word for Novel Writers," n.s. IX (1851), .348-51.

³⁷Life in the Clearings, p.209.

³⁸Ibid., p.213.

than any of her other writings. She goes on to urge the wealthy to help to ameliorate the sufferings which novels like Oliver Twist expose, by supporting education, and she extols Canada as a place where the poor may become beneficial members of society.

A brief editorial venture by Mr. and Mrs. Moodie deserves consideration. They were engaged to edit The Victoria Magazine. A Cheap Periodical for the Canadian People (1847-48), but they were unable to carry on alone when the proprietor withdrew his support at the end of a year.³⁹ Most of the items for the magazine were written by the Moodies themselves, although there were contributions from other Stricklands and some Canadian writers. Mrs. Moodie's contributions include tales of Suffolk and Canadian life, historical sketches, poems, reviews, and essays. From amongst the last category, "Education the True Wealth of the World"⁴⁰ is the most important, for it presents, in conjunction with the editorials, an attempt to encourage the cultural development of Canada. Susanna urges the wealthy people of the country to devote their excess funds to the education of all classes, so that the colony might be provided with a well-informed populace on which to develop. Such a suggestion shows that she was affected by republican sentiment, even though she hastens to assure her readers that her "wish for universal education involves no dislike to royal rule, or for those distinctions of birth and wealth which [she] consider[s] necessary for the well-being of society." Her assurance of a stratified society is qualified, however, for in her next sentence she says that distinctions

³⁹ Introduction, Mark Hurdlestone, pp. xviii-xix. Mrs. Moodie claims that the magazine had 800 subscribers and that it could have prospered.

⁴⁰ I (1847-48), 39-92. The essay appears as Chapter III of Life in the Clearings. "The Trials of a Travelling Musician," chapters V and VI of the book, was also published first in the Victoria Magazine.

will be based on talent and education, not birth and wealth. The education she advocates also reveals the effect of New World conditions upon her; she advises the abandonment of the classics in favour of the study of history, geography, chemistry, and mathematics, in combination with the truths of Christianity, feeling that a man need not go beyond "the pale of plain English" in order to be intellectual.

Of Susanna's stories in the Victoria Magazine the most interesting is "Rachel Wilde, or Trifles from the Burthen of a Life,"⁴¹ a thinly disguised piece of autobiography which later appeared in the Literary Garland. The story reviews some of the familiar details of Reydon Hall life, such as the education of the sisters and the discovery of paper and ink in an Indian chest which enabled the two youngest sisters to begin their writing careers. There is also an account of Susanna's love of nature and the spiritual teaper that led her to a religious conversion. She is revealed as the rebel in the family, a view which is confirmed by Catharine's sketch of her.⁴² The tale of Rachel concludes with her willingness to give up ambitions for a writing career to join a loved one in emigration to North America.

From the story of Rachel Wilde and the Canadian sketches which are included in the Garland and the Victoria Magazine emerged Mrs. Moodie's trilogy of pioneer experience. Flora Lyndsay (1854), Roughing It in the Bush (1852), and Life in the Clearings (1853) encompass all phases of the emigrant's history from his early plans in England to his establishment in a Canadian town beginning to show signs of a fully developed society.

⁴¹I (1847-48), . . 113-15, 126-8, 156-9, 183-7, 212-14, 234-7, 250-2.

⁴²A typed copy of this sketch is in the possession of T.R. McCloy of Calgary.

Flora Lyndsay is the only part of the trilogy written in the novel form, and like "Rachel Wilde" it is autobiographical. The details of family and residence correspond to those of the Strickland family, and the narrator makes observations about Canada which may also be found in Roughing It in the Bush. The novel traces the emigration of a recently married couple from their initial discussions about the future welfare of their family to their arrival off Grosse Isle in the St. Lawrence River, but the account focuses little attention on the family. Instead the novel consists largely of anecdotes and character sketches for which the voyage proved a rich source, and in this way it is similar to the volumes about life in Canada.

Flora Lyndsay undoubtedly ranks third in Mrs. Moodie's canon because in the character sketches and anecdotes she keeps her eye on real persons and exercises restraint in her portrayal of them. The gallery of characters is large, ranging from her neighbours and advisers in Suffolk to the one-eyed, alcoholic Captain on the brig Anne, which sailed from Edinburgh for Quebec on 1 July, 1832.⁴³ Susanna obviously delighted in the study of human beings and was able to get them to talk about themselves. When she listened and observed carefully she was able to capture humour and pathos in her reproductions, as in the following narrative by her Scottish landlady:

⁴³Matrimonial Speculations (1854), a collection of three stories, has some affinity with Flora Lyndsay because two of the tales concern Suffolk characters and contain the emigration theme. In the opening chapter of "The Miss Greens" the author advises young ladies to marry their loves and emigrate to a land of independence instead of remaining spinsters or marrying for money. She then proceeds to tell the story of two rich but ludicrous spinsters, the Miss Greens. "Waiting for Dead Men's Shoes" presents several young people who expect to inherit some of the wealth of their relative, Dr. Beaumont. Three of them wisely decide to forsake mercenary hopes and emigrate to Canada. The story ends with Dr. Beaumont still living and with his relatives assured of an inheritance. Both of the emigration stories are written in a comic vein. "Richard Redpath, the Voluntary Slave" concerns the anti-slavery theme, but it is less successful stylistically than the other two stories, and the plot is implausible. It involves fugitives, pirates, abduction, and the happy reconciliation of several pairs of lovers. The contents of Matrimonial Speculations first appeared in the Literary Garland.

"I weel remember, when Moncy was a bairn, she was the maist ugsome wee thing I ever clappit an e'e upon. My Leddy W. lodged in this verra room, in which we are no' sittin'. She had a daughter nearly a woman grown, an' I was in my sma' back parlour washin' an' dressin' the bairn. In runs my Leddy Grace, an' she stood an' lookit an' lookit a lang time at the naked bairn in my lap: at last she clappit her hands an' she called out to her mither - 'Mamma! Mamma! for gudeness sake, come here, an' look at this ugly, blear-eyed, bandy-legged child! - I never saw sic an object in a' my life!' ... I ha' met wi' mony crosses and sair trials in my day; but few o' them made me shed bitterer tears than that proud, handsome' young ledy's speech on the deformity o' my puir bairn."⁴⁴

It is the gallery of characters that the reader would find most interesting, but Flora Lyndsay also provides an impression of the vicissitudes of emigration. Mrs. Moodie writes of the problems of embarkation, the necessary care in the choice of a ship, the emotional strain of leaving one's homeland, the tedium of the crossing, and the perils of the sea. The brig Anne was not storm-battered, but it was becalmed for three weeks off Newfoundland, at which time food rations got very low.

During the becalming the narrator occupied her time by writing another long story based on Suffolk people and, unfortunately, it is included in Flora Lyndsay. The plot and style of the story clash with the air of authenticity and simplicity of the character sketches and anecdotes, for it bears the sentimentality and attempted refinement of her other stories of greed, murder, and repentance. Whenever Mrs. Moodie attempted to write didactic and religious stories she employed a pretentious style, but when her intention was to write humorous or informative sketches in the Mitford manner she adopted a realistic approach. Her most successful book, Roughing It in the Bush, is also her most realistic.

⁴⁴I, p.230.

A consideration of the prose written by Susanna before she left England revealed her attempt to produce sketches of Suffolk life similar to those done by Miss Mitford of Berkshire. This tendency to present personal observations of unusual characters, employing the appropriate dialect and details of setting, and to do so in a rather loose form which could also encompass personal reflections, description, and anecdote, appears to have been particularly useful to travellers and immigrants who had much new subject-matter to assimilate.⁴⁵ In North American literary history these sketch-books resulted in the local colour fiction which contains such famous characters as Thomas Chandler Haliburton's Sam Slick and the people of Stephen Leacock's small town.

Although Roughing It in the Bush was published as a book for prospective British emigrants, it is important to remember that some of its contents first appeared as a series of "Canadian Sketches"⁴⁶ with no other purposes than to entertain and perhaps awaken memories. It is primarily a literary work in the manner of Our Village and it possesses characteristics which have enabled it to survive as an important and popular Canadian book.

Following the lessons she had learned in England from Miss Mitford,

⁴⁵The area in which the Traills and Moodies lived was productive of other reporters of backwoods life, among them John and Anne Langton, Frances Stewart, and Thomas Need. Their accounts of pioneering activities and natural phenomena are in the form of letters and diaries, and they were generally published after the death of the writer. But the most remarkable similarity to Roughing It is a volume by Caroline Kirkland, an American lady and another admirer of Miss Mitford: "If Miss Mitford...had by some happy chance been translated to Michigan, what would she not have made of such materials..." A New Home - Who'll Follow? (Boston, 1840) is a discursive volume of sketches of character and custom, and passages of description and reflection. Mrs. Kirkland was a refined New England woman and many of her responses and attitudes correspond to those of Mrs. Moodie. I do not know whether Mrs. Moodie had ever read the Kirkland volume.

⁴⁶The series of sketches consists of "Old Woodruff and his Three Wives," "The Walk to Dummer," "Our Borrowing," "Tom Wilson's Emigration," "Uncle Joe and his Family," and "Brian, the Still Hunter." Literary Garland, n.s., v (1897), 13-19, 101-9, 197-205, 283-6, 363-8, 460-6.

Susanna presents an array of backwoods characters, almost all of whom are vividly drawn and memorable.⁴⁷ Usually each figure is revealed in a series of anecdotes. Tom Wilson, an eccentric acquaintance of the Moodies from Suffolk, is the subject of several humorous pages in the early chapters of the book. One of his comic scenes takes place in an inn while the Moodies are on the way to their first settlement. It is worth quoting because it shows that Susanna could reconstruct, with an economy of detail and swiftness of pace, a dramatic scene which displays Tom's wit:

In the middle of dinner, the company was disturbed by the entrance of a person who had the appearance of a gentleman, but who was evidently much flustered with drinking. He thrust his chair in between two gentlemen who sat near the head of the table, and in a loud voice demanded fish.

"Fish, sir?" said the obsequious waiter, a great favourite with all persons who frequented the hotel; "there is no fish, sir. There was a fine salmon, sir, had you come sooner; but 'tis all eaten, sir."

"Then fetch me something, smart!"

"I'll see what I can do, sir," said the obliging Tim, hurrying out.

Tom Wilson was at the head of the table, carving a roast pig, and was in the act of helping a lady, when the rude fellow thrust his fork into the pig, calling out as he did so -

"Hold, sir! give me some of that pig! You have eaten among you all the fish, and now you are going to appropriate the best parts of the pig."

Tom raised his eyebrows, and stared at the stranger in his peculiar manner, then very coolly placed the whole of the pig on his plate. "I have heard," he said, "of dog eating dog, but I never before saw pig eating pig."

"Sir! do you mean to insult me?" cried the stranger, his face crimsoning with anger.

"Only to tell you, sir, that you are no gentleman. Here, Tim," turning to the waiter, "go to the stable and bring in my bear; we will place him at the table to teach this man how to behave himself in the presence of ladies."⁴⁸

⁴⁷The first edition contains three sketches by Mr. Moodie: "The Village Hotel" and "The Land-Jobber" in volume I, and "The 'Ould Chragoon'" in volume II.

⁴⁸Roughing It in the Bush (Toronto, 1923), pp.92-3.

Tom provided Mrs. Moodie with several entertaining anecdotes, but he was an Englishman, and he did not remain in Canada. Nineteenth-century British readers would probably have been more interested in the "Yankees," Old Satan and Uncle Joe and his family, or the enigmatic characters such as Brian, the still-hunter, or in Mrs. Moodie's Indian neighbours.

In her portraits of these backwoods people Susanna could add to the air of authenticity and local colour by re-creating dialects. She is very successful with the speech of her Irish and Scottish servants, but again one suspects that the idiom and earthy imagery of her "Yankee" neighbours would have been most interesting to her British readers. Her first weeks on a farm near Cobourg were enlivened by several appearances of Miss Satan who made her initial visit while the Moodies were unpacking:

I thought she had come to offer her services; and I told her that I did not want a girl, for I had brought one out with me.

"How!" responded the creature, "I hope you don't take me for a help. I'd have you know that I'm as good a lady as yourself. No; I just stepped over to see what was going on. I see'd the teams pass our'n about noon, and I says to father, 'Then strangers are cum; I'll go and look arter them.' 'Yes,' says he, 'do - and take the decanter along. May be they'll want one to put their whiskey in.' 'I'm goin' to,' says I; so I cum across with it, an' here it is.' But, mind - don't break it - 'tis the only one we have to hum; and father says 'tis so mean to drink out of green glass."⁴⁹

The loan of the decanter was really an excuse to borrow whiskey in return, and Mrs. Moodie soon found herself besieged by borrowing neighbours, but all of her confrontations with Old Satan, Betty Fye, Uncle Joe, and others are reported with a sense of humour probably derived from "recollection in tranquillity." Many of her scenes with the "Yankees" contain simple but humorous figures of speech very much like those spoken by Thomas Chandler Haliburton's clockmaker.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Ibid., p.102.

⁵⁰Haliburton's The Clockmaker (1836) was popular in both North America and Britain. The principal character, Sam Slick, the Yankee clock peddler, travels about Nova Scotia criticizing the people of the province in his amusing anecdotes and witty aphorisms. In one of the later volumes Sam Slick visits London.

Uncle Jon "could not leave the barn door without the old hen clucking him back,"⁵¹ and Mrs. R—— says of a land speculator that "he can buy and sell his word as fast as a horse can trot."⁵² Even the names of her neighbours furnished a subject of interest for Mrs. Moodie; she devotes a paragraph to a discussion of the novelty of Solomon Sly, Hiram Dolittle, Prudence Fidget and others. And, of course, her vocabulary was enlarged by a multitude of North American names of places, objects, customs, and wild-life such as charivari, buffalo-robes, bran-captiyings, maskinonge, rail fence, and Otonabes.

In addition to being distinguished by their dialects and novel vocabulary, Mrs. Moodie's characters are vividly described. The first appearance of Miss Satan incorporates Susanna's subsequent knowledge of her and reveals the crudeness of some of the backwoods people:

Imagine a girl of seventeen or eighteen years of age, with sharp, knowing-looking features, a forward, impudent carriage, and a pert, flippant voice, standing upon one of the trunks, and surveying all our proceedings in the most impertinent manner. The creature was dressed in a ragged, dirty purple stuff gown, cut very low in the neck, with an old red cotton handkerchief tied over her head; her uncombed, tangled locks falling over her thin, inquisitive face, in a state of perfect nature. Her legs and feet were bare, and, in her coarse, dirty red hands, she swung to and fro an empty glass decanter.⁵³

The author's interest in unusual people is evident throughout the book, but she also focused her attention on the landscape which played an important part in her acclimatization to life in Canada.

That Roughing It in the Bush is a literary work in the tradition of Our Village is supported by the fact that some of the chapters, especially

⁵¹Roughing It, p.137.

⁵²Ibid., p.145.

⁵³Ibid., p.101.

"The Burning of the Fallow," "The Fire," and "The Whirlwind," approach the form of the short story. "The Fire," for example, begins with the setting and circumstances that give rise to a crisis in the Moodies' lives. The time is 7 February, during the severe winter of 1857, and Mr. Moodie has gone to a neighbour's home on an errand. Mrs. Moodie is engaged with the children and does not have time to watch a newly hired Irish servant who, hearing her mistress complain of the cold, fills the stove with extremely dry wood. From this point the story moves rapidly. Mrs. Moodie discovers a red-hot stove and succeeds in cooling it, only to find that the roof is on fire. Unable to combat this threat, she sends the servant for aid while she begins to save children and belongings. She abandons hope of saving the structure, but help arrives and the fire is extinguished with snow and brine from newly pickled beef. To this stage the narrative is unified and there is a sense of progression from initial circumstance to climax and resolution, but the author proceeds to discuss the fire, the employment and character of a new servant, and other more amusing incidents. Mrs. Moodie's intention was to reveal, in a realistic but discursive manner, interesting aspects of her life in Canada. She was not fully aware of the emerging shape of the organic short story, but her chapters contain the seeds of many stories of action and character, and her book contributed to the cultural foundations which enabled the development of local colour fiction.

One of the contributions of Roughing It in the Bush is its articulation of the process of the settler's adjustment to new surroundings and customs. According to her book, during the first weeks and months of her residence Mrs. Moodie's tendency was to compare Canada to her homeland and to find the former

wanting. But her statements of her initial responses are usually qualified by her later feelings: "I abused one of the finest countries in the world as the worst that God ever called out of chaos."⁵⁴ In fact, in her homesickness the strange landscape seemed only slightly removed from chaos. Her early antipathy to the country was eroded by two forces: because it was the birthplace of her children, she began to view herself as a connecting link between the Old World and future North American generations, and because of her intense love of nature her attitude to the Canadian scene underwent a rapid change. Mrs. Moodie was a romantic in her love of "wild and lonely grandeur"⁵⁵ and in moments of perception of sublime scenery "[she] ceased to regret [her] separation from [her] native land, and, filled with the love of Nature, [her] heart forgot for the time the love of home."⁵⁶ She revelled in the sense that she was a discoverer of things and that, as the first human being to perceive them, she could give them names as Adam did in Eden:

Every object was new to us. We felt as if we were the first discoverers of every beautiful flower and stately tree that attracted our attention, and we gave names to fantastic rocks and fairy isles, and raised imaginary houses and bridges on every picturesque spot which we floated past during our aquatic excursions.⁵⁷

The book contains frequent notices of the plenitude and terror, the power and peace of the landscape.

Mrs. Moodie had to make other emotional adjustments as well. She tells of struggling with her pride before working on the farm, but "reflection convinced [her] that [she] was wrong" and that "the independent in soul can rise above the seeming disgrace of poverty, and hold fast their integrity, in defiance

⁵⁴Ibid., p.180.

⁵⁶Ibid., p.336.

⁵⁵Ibid., p.333.

⁵⁷Ibid., p.263.

of the world and its selfish and unwise maxims."⁵⁸ Like Mrs. Traill she began to praise "the happy independence enjoyed in this highly-favoured land,"⁵⁹ and her own experience led her to celebrate the virtue of work. The independent settler, by his own labour and self-control, could rise to a position of security and comfort. Control had to be exercised in the face of initial hardships during which time many men succumbed to the temptation of alcohol. Mrs. Moodie did not disapprove of its use, but she saw that it was the ruin of many settlers faced with early misfortunes, and she deplored the Bacchanalian atmosphere of such customs as the logging-bee.

Because of the comments on moral laxity amongst backwoods people and the author's frequent support of the virtues of work and independence, Roughing It in the Bush is a didactic volume as well as a sketch-book of pioneer life. It gives expression to some of the ethical and religious views which helped to form Canadian society. As one might expect of a woman who wrote religious stories and poems in her youth, Mrs. Moodie displays a missionary zeal in effecting the enlightenment of a dying "Yankee" girl, one of Uncle Joe's daughters, who knew nothing of God and Christ. Although this is an isolated case, a religious tone pervades the book. Like Mrs. Traill, Susanna was almost pantheistic in her attitude to nature, finding that her soul drew near to God "amid these lonely wilds,"⁶⁰ and she often refers in her sketches to the plan of an omniscient Providence who brought her to the backwoods and enabled her to survive its hardships.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.349.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.224.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.336.

One is left with the feeling, at the end of a reading of Roughing It in the Bush, that he has encountered a woman who, having committed personal errors and having been subjected to natural disaster, has been able to adjust and view her experiences with good humour. Mrs. Moodie was a civilized woman who succeeded in writing of her own life with reasonable detachment. She could laugh at her own early plight and she could regard other people with charity.

Life in the Clearings is the book wherein Mrs. Moodie, tolerant and reflective, presents her observations of Canadian society in the growing towns, and of the institutions helping to shape that society. It contains some character sketches meant for Roughing It in the Bush, but it concentrates on the characteristics of a province which has recently achieved responsible government and is rapidly approaching political union with other provinces of British North America. Much of the subject matter for the volume was provided by the localities the author visited while on a journey via steamer from her home in Belleville to Niagara Falls, and the journey provided a frail unifying factor for the book.

In literary history Life in the Clearings is the Canadian counterpart of Harriet Martineau's Society in America (1837) and Frances Trollope's Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832). Although her predecessors wrote larger and more comprehensive volumes, like them Mrs. Moodie records visits to such institutions as the lunatic asylum, a penitentiary, and the Provincial Agricultural Show, she discourses on aspects of the developing culture and national character, and she describes localities.

Life in the Clearings is a desultory book, but Canadian character and

custom is the most prominent topic of discussion. As in Roughing It in the Bush and Mrs. Traill's The Backwoods of Canada, there is frequent notice of the people's sense of liberty and their industrious habits. The book contains many eulogies of the labouring classes and mechanical genius, the agricultural show being one event which gives the author an opportunity to marvel at the country's rapid progress and to express confidence in a great future. The frequency of patriotic and optimistic statements in the volume is probably indicative of an effort by the author to stress that she was not disappointed with Canada, as some of her readers seemed to think after reading Roughing It in the Bush.

In spite of her praise, however, Mrs. Moodie had some reservations. The concentration on the material development of the country produced negative features, among them the attitude of many people to literature. Mrs. Moodie tells of her own encounters with people who considered authorship a frivolous occupation, especially when the form of writing was fiction.⁶¹ She also notes a failure on the part of some Canadians to appreciate natural beauty, and to hew down the forest without discrimination.⁶² Such flaws, she felt, would be overcome by rapid advances in education.

The vigorous religious character of early Canadian society is revealed in Mrs. Moodie's description of the variety of denominations and church buildings in Upper Canadian towns. She observes that there was freedom of religion, but she expresses a need for more tolerance, for an abandonment of old prejudices.⁶³ Her essay on camp meetings, a popular mode of religious experience in towns and

⁶¹ Life in the Clearings, pp.42-5.

⁶² Ibid., p.246.

⁶³ Ibid., p.9.

rural areas during the nineteenth century, focuses on extreme fundamentalist religion which has left its mark on the country. Such meetings were also occasions for social gatherings and amusement in early Canada.

Other amusements are surveyed in the volume. Mrs. Moodie had the opportunity to write down the narrative of a travelling musician, and she comments on theatres, circuses, lectures, social gatherings, and outdoor activities.

In Life in the Clearings Susanna continues to show that she had a fine eye for details as she describes towns and landscapes. The arrival at Niagara is the climax of the journey and Mrs. Moodie gives vent to her love of the sublime:

It was some seconds before I could collect my thoughts, or concentrate my attention sufficiently to identify one of its gigantic features. The eye crowds all into the one glance, and the eager mind is too much dazzled and intoxicated for minor details. Astonishment and admiration are succeeded by curious examination and enjoyment; but it is impossible to realize this at first. The tumultuous rush of feeling, the excitement occasioned by the grand spectacle, must subside before you can draw a free breath, and have time for thought.⁶⁴

Her first response is followed by a detailed analysis and by reverence for such expressions of God.

Life in the Clearings does not equal Roughing It in the Bush as an account of personal experience or as a sketch-book of character and dramatic incident, but it is an important survey of Canadian localities and aspects of society in the mid-nineteenth century, in which the author attempts to awaken her countrymen to the possibilities of cultural and economic development. The books of Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill were important in that cultural development, both as records of an era and as signposts of the future.

⁶⁴Ibid., p.248.

CONCLUSION

Harold Nicolson, in his lectures on The Development of English Biography, writes of the period 1838-1882 as one during which there was a decline in the art of biography.¹ Most biographies of the mid-nineteenth century were written from motives which caused them to be "impure";² having been prompted by such emotions as reverence, affection, ethical desires, and religious belief, they were not conducive to the revelation of personalities in a complete and candid manner.³ According to Nicolson, such biographies do not belong to the main current of English artistic biography, but he also suggests that "no branch of literature has been more sensitive than biography to the 'spirit of the age'; over no form of literary composition have the requirements of the reading public exercised so marked and immediate an influence."⁴ Such a statement is one justification for a literary history of a family whose name is most readily associated with one kind of biography.

Two types of biography dominated the mid-nineteenth century: the two-volume "life and times" study of a friend or relative, such as Dean Stanley's Life and Correspondance of Thomas Arnold (1844), and the reconstructional, historical series on the holders of a particular office, such as Lives of the

¹(4th imp., 1959), p.111.

²Ibid., pp. 9-10.

³Ibid., pp. 110-11.

⁴Ibid., p. 135.

Queens of England.⁵ The latter work, by Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland, was very popular during the years of its publication, 1840-1848, and it was kept in print until 1922. An analysis of the characteristics of the series and its social and literary background indicates many features of early Victorian literary taste.

Among the principal reasons for the popularity of the Queens of England was its feminine point of view. Whether or not they were conscious of the fact, the Stricklands were involved in the nineteenth-century feminist dialogue, and it now seems that this sociological involvement was the most significant aspect of their work. Their first biographical series is the keystone of the history of nineteenth-century biographies by and about women.

Even apart from the importance of the Queens of England the Stricklands were involved in the development of a feminist movement. Their history reveals the phenomenon of the literary family; five sisters pursuing writing careers. One inevitably recalls the Brontë family. In both cases, children living in isolated places and educated largely at home created youthful literary coteries to compensate for their isolation. But the similarity ends there, for the Strickland sisters did not possess the creative minds of the Brontës. Their talents lay in other directions: as industrious popularizers of history, and as accurate reporters of pioneer life in Canada. As such they contributed to the growing prominence of women in the literary world and two of them were professional women of letters. Paradoxically, they believed that a woman's

⁵See also John Forster's Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth (1836-9), Lord Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors (1845-69), Walter F. Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury (1860-76), and the many series of royal biographies which competed with the Strickland works.

proper duties were those of wife and mother and they sought to strengthen the bonds of family life, but by their own successes they were encouraging women to seek literary careers and to turn their attention to literary forms other than fiction and sentimental verse.

Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland did attempt to make a serious incursion into a subject dominated by men. In an age when history was still a branch of literature, they produced heavily documented biographies of historical personages, having examined as many public and private sources as possible for relevant, and often irrelevant, information. In the eyes of their contemporaries they succeeded in making a significant contribution to national historical literature, and they made people aware of hitherto unused collections of papers and historical relics. But the stylistic features of their works and the partiality which appealed to many nineteenth-century reviewers and readers were of a quality that could not endure the fluctuations in popular literary taste. As a result, one now finds Lives of the Queens of England listed in the catalogues of book dealers, often in fine bindings, as one of the curiosities of literary history, or occasionally in the footnotes of more recent biographies of British queens.⁶

While the literary and social significance of historical biography forms the core of the Strickland literary history, the sisters ranged widely

⁶ Frederick Chamberlin relied heavily on the Queens of England for his Sayings of Queen Elizabeth (1923) and he refers to the Stricklands frequently in the appendices to The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth (1921), praising them for the "reliability and range of their work" (p.267). Chamberlin's works were popular, but his pretensions to serious historical writing were ill-founded, as J.E. Neale points out in a review of the former volume in The Age of Catherine de Medici and Essays in Elizabethan History (1963). More recently the Strickland works have been cited in Mary Hopkirk's Queen over the Water: Mary Beatrice of Modena, Queen of James II (1953), Edith Sitwell's Fanfare for Elizabeth (1946) and The Queens and the Hive (1962)*. Mattingly refers to the Queens of England only three times, but the other two authors cite it frequently as a source. Perhaps the contemporary counterpart of the Strickland series is Thomas B. Costain's series on the Royal families of Great Britain, for it is designed to popularize history.

/* and Garrett Mattingley's Catherine of Aragon (1942).

in their book-making, and the long careers of these ladies reflect many of the tendencies and interests of the nineteenth century. Their history begins with a father who, like Richard Lovell Edgeworth, was eager to supervise the education of his children, but in such unfeminine subjects as mathematics, Latin, and history, as well as the usual social accomplishments. When the girls began their literary careers they were in the vanguard of the writers who produced children's literature containing information: scientific, geographical and historical. They were writing in the decade which preceded the formation of such nineteenth-century organizations as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Victorian quest for knowledge continued to be an important factor in ^{the} careers of the Stricklands. In addition to the biographies, three of them wrote informative books on life in North America, and their bibliography includes items on natural history. But their works could also satisfy the popular taste for romance and acknowledge the evangelical fervour of some segments of the reading public.

The emigration to Canada of three members of the family causes a degree of discontinuity in the literary history because their pioneer experience was conducive to the development of different early interests than those pursued by the sisters who remained in England. The careers of the two branches of the family had to be examined separately, but the literary roots of the Canadian books are English, and the volumes by Catharine and Susanna are not out of place in a study concerned largely with the role of woman in society, since they present accounts of the domestic and social problems of refined and educated women living in crude surroundings. The part played by Mrs. Moodie and Mrs.

Traill in the transplanting of culture is also important, for their autobiographical books and Catharine's Canadian fiction could satisfy the British taste for information about North America, and Susanna's English stories could please the readers of the Literary Garland who associated the adventurous and romantic with the Old World. But the popularity of Roughing It in the Bush and The Backwoods of Canada helped to show Canadians that vivid sketches of people and delightful studies of their own natural surroundings could be written. Therefore these books indicated directions for Canadian literature which were followed by later writers of fiction and nature poetry.

APPENDIX I.

A list of biographical sketches of queens and princesses which appeared in the Lady's Magazine, 1831-1837.

The magazine also contains the memoirs of twenty-eight duchesses and other remarkable ladies, up to the end of 1837, and memoirs continued to appear after the merger with the Court Magazine. I have limited the list to queens and princesses because these were the ladies of the past who most interested the Stricklands, and I have terminated the list with items included in volume XI because the Stricklands began to prepare for their Queens of England in 1837.

1. "Memoir of the Duchess of Suffolk and Queen of France," improved series, III(1831), 2-6.
2. "Memoir of Marie Antoinette, Queen of the French, with Anecdotes and Genealogy of the Orléans Family," i.s., V(1832), 57-64.
3. "Memoir of Anne of Bretagne," i.s.e., III(1833), 1-7.
4. "Memoir of Anne Boleyn, Queen of England," i.s.e., III(1833), 115-26.
5. "Claude, Queen of France, and Heiress of Brittany," i.s.e., III(1833), 173-5.
6. "Eleanor of Austria, Queen of France," i.s.e., III(1833), 239-42.
7. "Memoir of Mary Queen of Scots," i.s., IV(1834), 257-66.
8. "Memoir of Jane Seymour, Third Queen of Henry VIII," i.s., IV(1834), 321-25.
9. "Memoir of Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, Third wife of Philip the Second, King of Spain," i.s., V(1834), 129-34.
10. "Louise De Lorraine, Queen of France, Wife to Henry the Third," i.s., V(1834), 257-59.
11. "Memoir of Marguerite, Queen of France, Daughter to Henry the Second, and wife to Henry the Fourth of France," i.s., VI(1835), 1-9.

12. "Memoir of Marie Thérèse, Queen of France, First Wife of Louis XIV," i.s., VI(1835), 311-14.
13. "Memoir of Madame De Maintenon, Second Wife to Louis XIV," i.s., VII(1835), 123-32.
14. "Memoir of Catherine the Second, surnamed The Great, Empress of Russia, and of Her Court," i.s., VIII(1836), 1-12.
15. "Memoir of Marie Antionette, Queen of France," i.s., VIII(1836), 291-311.
16. "Memoir of Catherine De Médicis, Queen Regent of France," i.s., IV(1836), 1-11.
17. "Memoir of the Princess Ermengarde Plantagenet," i.s., IV(1836), 145-7.
18. "Memoir of Charlotte, Marguerite De Montmorenci, Princess of Condé," i.s., IX(1836), 353-58.
19. "Memoir of Elisabeth, Queen of England," i.s., X(1837), 1-16, 114-20.
20. "Memoir of Isabella, Princess of Scotland, and Duchess of Bretagne," i.s., X(1837), 287-8.
21. "Biography of the Princess Mary Tudor, Youngest Daughter of Henry VII, Queen of France, and Duchess of Suffolk," i.s., XI(1837), 1-14.
22. "Memoir of Marguerite, Princess of Bourbon," i.s., XI(1837), 165-66.

APPENDIX II

A Note on Manuscripts

In connection with the literary history of the Strickland family, I have endeavoured to discover the location of and to examine relevant manuscript letters and publishing data. It seemed that the most useful material would be letters to publishers of their work; I therefore attempted to discover any extant collections.

Fortunately the Blackwood correspondence has been catalogued in the National Library of Scotland. This large collection is the most rewarding manuscript source, for it contains 310 letters by the Strickland sisters to the Blackwood firm. The letters contain details of negotiations for the publication of Lives of the Queens of Scotland, many observations by the Strickland sisters about their work, opinions on contemporary persons, and clues to the personalities of Agnes and Elizabeth.

The files of other publishers have not been as fruitful. A letter to G. Bell and Sons Ltd., brought a reply concerning nine letters to the firm about the Bell and Daldy six-volume edition of the Queens of England (1864-5). The Longman correspondence was destroyed in 1940, but Commission Ledgers revealed an account of the number of volumes of the Queens of England sold between 1857 and 1877, as well as some less important information. Royal Gettmann's book, A Victorian

Publishers: a Study of the Bentley Papers (1960), suggested that he might know of some Strickland materials. A letter to him elicited information about eleven letters to the Bentley firm and outlines for a proposed biographical series, all of which I was able to have photographed. The Bentley papers in the British Museum contain letters from Mrs. Moodie, copies of Richard Bentley's replies to her, and records of payments for her books.

These publishers' records and Strickland letters, especially those to the Blackwood firm, revealed many useful details, and none of them has been employed previously for work on the Strickland family. Apparently the Blackwood correspondence was uncatalogued when Dame Una Pope-Hennessy wrote her book, for she does not mention the collection or give any indication that she knew of it. She did, however, have access to some letters to the Colburn firm. In 1940 these were a part of the Michael Sadleir collection on the nineteenth century. Dame Una refers to one letter by Agnes and to an indefinite number by Eliza. They seem relatively unimportant to a literary history. Agnes's letter is about the pace of her work and Eliza's about the organization of vignettes for the revised edition of the Queens of England (1851-2). Dame Una gives no indication that she had access to information about the size of editions or the payments made to the Strickland sisters.

The letters to the Colburn firm were sold by Pickering

and Chatto Ltd. to the Berg Collection, New York Public Library, in 1957. Mr. John D. Gordon, Curator of the Berg Collection refers to the letters as "miscellaneous material." In my letter to him I asked if the letters could be photographed, but his only reply to the question was that they are not sorted or catalogued. Because of Mr. Gordon's reply and the fact that Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's references do not hint at any very significant information in the letters, it may be safely assumed that the omission of this correspondence from consideration here is of little consequence.

I have not had access to all of the other materials used by Dame Una, but James Pope-Hennessy discovered some of the items his mother had used and I was permitted to examine these in the summer of 1964. Apart from a number of drawings and photographs which formed part of an exhibition at Bumpus's book store in 1940, there is Agnes's Mary Stuart album which contains letters from admirers and interested parties, drawings, and a few interesting biographical items such as the letter from Mary Howitt requesting Agnes's support of the petition for women's property rights. The album is the only manuscript source Mr. Pope-Hennessy has been able to locate; the item referred to by Dame Una as MSS. P-H. may have been lost in the turmoil of moving during the second world war.

Another source which she employed was a collection of letters in Corby Castle, Carlisle. This collection is listed in

the National Register of Archives as 244 sheets to Philip Henry Howard. I wrote to Corby Castle in February, 1962, and received a reply from Mr. W. H. Lawson, who informed me that his mother, Mrs. Levin, had died two years previous and that he had not had an opportunity to go through her papers. He promised to write to me should he find the letters and suggested that until they had been located it would not be worthwhile for me to pay him a visit. Another letter to Mr. Lawson in 1964 elicited no reply.

I did examine a number of miscellaneous letters, in addition to those to publishers, which Dame Una did not employ. These include the letters in the Pigott MS., Bodleian Library, which tell of Eliza's connection with the Court Magazine and Monthly Critic, and items in the Gloucestershire Records Office, the John Rylands Library, the Lincolnshire Archives Office, and the Toronto Public Library. She did not know of the Strickland letters to Halliwell-Phillips in the Edinburgh University Library, but she may have had access to the album now in the Ipswich and East Suffolk Records Office. It contains 280 items, chiefly letters of acknowledgment and inquiry from antiquaries, acquaintances, and interested readers. Some of the correspondents mentioned in the Pope-Hennessy book are represented in the album.

Attempts to discover materials in Canada have been disappointing. Mrs. B. Simpkin of Victoria, B. C., informs me that her mother, Mrs. Hoodie, was the person who sent material to Dame Pope-Hennessy from Vancouver Island, but Mrs. Simpkin does

not now know the location of any letters or papers. Miss Mary Traill of Vancouver and Mr. C. G. Dunn of Quebec City, a descendant of Mrs. Moodie, were unable to give me any information. But a letter to Miss F. M. Atwood of Peterborough, Ontario, led to a correspondence with T. R. McCloy of Calgary. I visited Mr. McCloy in November, 1964, and examined letters and manuscripts of stories by Catharine Parr Traill. Most of the letters are to her children, but there is also correspondence concerning a testimonial fund collected for Mrs. Traill and arrangements to give her an island in Lake Katchewanook in recognition of her literary work. There are also letters from Mr. James Fletcher of Ottawa, an entomologist and botanist, and E. S. Caswell of the Methodist Book and Publishing House concerning the publication of Catharine's last two books. Many of the papers in the McCloy collection would be useful for a biography of Mrs. Traill, particularly concerning the late years of her life. Any early letters she might have had were probably lost in the fire which destroyed the Traill home in 1857. I have not included the McCloy material in the bibliography because of its amorphous condition.

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Bibliography

Part One: A Strickland Bibliography

- I. A Chronological list of books produced jointly by Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland.
1. Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of their Courts, Now First Published from Official Records and Other Authentic Documents, Private as well as Public. 12 vols. Henry Colburn, 1840-48. B.M.

Second edition, with corrections and additions. vols. I-III. Henry Colburn, 1841. The Publisher's Circular (1841) lists a new edition of volumes I-III for 1841; presumably the second edition was meant. Volume I is in the London Library.

New edition, with corrections and additions. vols. I-V and VII. Henry Colburn, [1844]-45. University College Library, London. Some of the volumes of this new edition were also altered and reissued with the same title page. My own copies of vols. I and II are different from those at University College.

New edition, revised and greatly augmented. Embellished with portraits of every Queen. 8 vols. Henry Colburn, 1851-52. B.M.

Fourth edition, with all the late improvements. Embellished with portraits of every Queen. 8 vols. Published for Henry Colburn, by his successors, Hurst and Blackett, 1854. John Rylands Library.

New edition, revised and greatly augmented, embellished with portraits of every Queen. 8 vols. Longmans, Green, Pender, and Dyer, 1857. This is really a reissue of the Colburn 8 vol. edition. It was kept in print until 1877, when the copyright was sold to G. Bell and Sons. I have seen reissues dated 1871 and 1875. The 1871 reissue is in L.C.

Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest. A new edition carefully revised and augmented. 6 vols. Bohn's Historical Library. Bell and Daldy, 1864-65. Bodl. Lib. G. Bell and Sons have informed me that this edition was on their list of books in print as late as 1922. I have seen reissues dated 1875, 1878, 1894, and 1910.

+ In listing the Queens of England and Queens of Scotland I have separated English and American editions.

... The Queens of England. Abridged and adapted from Strickland's "Queens of England" by Rosalie Kaufman ... 3 vols. Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1883-4. L.C. Reissued in Boston, [1894], and Chicago and New York: Werner Co., [1895].

Vie de Marguerite d'Anjou, Reine d'Angleterre. Traduite de l'Anglais par Madame C. G. Paris, 1850. Bib. Nat.

Catherine d'Aragon, Première Femme d'Henri VIII, Roi d'Angleterre. Traduit de La Vie des Reines d'Angleterre par Miss Agnes Strickland. Paris: Au Bureau de La Revue, 1857. Bib. Nat.

2. Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Royal Succession of Great Britain. 8 vols. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1850-59. B.M.

Second edition. vols. 1-3. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1853-54. B.M. has vol. II. Letters from Agnes to Blackwoods reveal that second editions of Vols. I and III were brought out. The Library of Congress Catalogue lists a second edition by Blackwood, 1861, but the number of volumes is not stated.

American edition. 8 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1851-59.

Abridgements and single lives.

Life of Mary, Queen of Scots. 5 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, and Sons, 1864. Bib. Nat.

Life of Mary Queen of Scots. 2 vols. Bohn's Historical Library. G. Bell and Sons, 1873. Bodl.Lib. Reissued in 1888.

The Queens of Scotland. Abridged and adapted from Strickland's Queens of Scotland by Rosalie Kaufman. Boston: Estes and Lauriat, [1887]. L.C. Reissued in Boston, [1894], and Chicago and New York: Werner Co., [1895].

The Life of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. Abridged from Agnes Strickland's Queens of Scotland by Rosalie Kaufman. Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1887. L.C.

Mary Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse. Autour de Vies des Reines d'Angleterre. premier volume. Paris: Librairie de la Nouvelle Revue, 1894. Bib. Nat.

A reissue. Ouvrage publié par la Duchesse de Pomar. premier vol. Paris, 1895. Bib. Nat.

3. Lives of the Bachelor Kings of England. Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1861. B.M.
4. Lives of the Seven Bishops Committed to the Tower in 1689; Enriched and Illustrated with Personal Letters, now First Published, from the Bodleian Library. Bell and Daldy, 1866. B.M.
5. Lives of the Tudor Princesses, Including Lady Jane Gray and Her Sisters. Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868. B.M.
6. Lives of the Tudor and Stuart Princesses. Revised edition. With two portraits. 2 vols. Bohn's Historical Library. G. Bell and Sons, 1888. B.M.

II. Books by Agnes Strickland.

1. The Moss House: In which Many of the Works of Nature are Rendered a Source of Amusement to Children. William Darton, 1822. T.P.L.
2. The Youthful Travellers; or, Letters Chiefly Descriptive of Scenes Visited by Some Young People during a Summer Excursion, Designed as Examples of Epistolary Style for Children. William Darton, 1823. T.P.L.
3. The Use of Sight; or, I Wish I Were Julia. Intended for the Amusement and Instruction of Children. With copper plates. William Darton, /1824/. T.P.L.
4. The River Crusoes, or the Shipwreck. Also A Voyage to Norway; and The Fisherman's Cottage. Founded on facts. J. Harrie, =/1826/. B.M. The Osborne Collection of Early Children's books 1566-1910. (Toronto Public Library, 1958) suggests that Eliza collaborated on this book.
5. Worcester Field; or, The Cavalier. A Poem in Four Cantos, with Historical Notes. Longman, /1826/. B.M.
6. Seven Ages of Woman, and Other Poems. Hurst, Chance, and Company, 1827. B.M.

7. Demetrius: A Tale of Modern Greece: IN Three Cantos. With Other Poems. James Fraser, 1833. B.M.
8. Historical Tales of Illustrious British Children. H. Hailes, 1833. B.M.

Another edition. Hamilton and Co., Simpkin and Co., Whittaker and Co., 1847. Bodl. Lib.

New edition, with several tinted illustrations, by George Meason. Jarrold and Sons, 1858. B.M.
9. A Visit to the Banks of Jordan: Designed for Children and Young Persons: Shewing How They May Pass Over on 'Dry Ground'. Darton and Harvey, 1834. B.M.
10. The Broken Heart; and, The Bridal. Dean and Munday, 1835. B.M.
11. The Pilgrims of Walsingham; or, Tales of the Middle Ages. An Historical Romance. 3 vols. Saunders and Otley, 1835. B.M.

Another edition. New York: Garrett & Co., 1854. L.C.
12. Tales of the Schoolroom. Signed "Z". Darton and Son, 1835. B.M.
13. Foral Sketches, Fables, and Other Poems. Effingham Wilson, 1836. B.M.

New edition. Hamilton, Adams, and Co., and Webb, Millington, and Co., 1861. B.M.

Another edition. Groombridge, 1883. Eng. Cat.
14. Tales and Stories from History. 2 vols. John W. Parker, 1836. B.M.

New edition. Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870. B.M.

Tales from English History, for Children. With engravings. New York: O.S. Felt, 1868. L.C.

Stories from History. With twenty-four engravings. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, n.d. L.C.
15. Queen Victoria from Her Birth to Her Bridal. 2 vols. Henry Colburn, 1840. B.M.

16. Alda, the British Captive. Joseph Rickerby, 1841. B.M.

Alda l'Esclave Bretonne. Traduit de l'Anglais par Mme. Louise de Montenclos. Bibliothèque des écoles Chrétiennes. Tours: A. Mame, 1858.

New editions of this translations were published in 1859, 1862, 1865, 1868, 1872, 1875, 1878, 1880, 1882, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1888, and 1890. There were ten impressions of the 1890 edition, the last one being printed in 1924. Bib. Nat.

17. Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, and Documents Connected with Her Personal History. Now first published, with an Introduction by Agnes Strickland. 3 vols. Henry Colburn, vols. I and II, 1842, vol. III, 1843, B.M.
New edition. 2 vols. Henry Colburn, 1844. B.M.

18. Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies. Henry Colburn, 1850. B.M.

19. The Seaside Offering. Edinburgh: printed for the author by Blackwood, 1856. B.M.

20. Old Friends and New Acquaintances. First series. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1860. B.M.

Second series. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1861. B.M.

21. How Will It End? 3 vols. Richard Bentley, 1865. B.M.

Second edition. Richard Bentley, 1865. Bodl. Lib.

22. Lives of the Last Four Princesses of the Royal House of Stuart. Bell and Daldy, 1872. B.M.

23. Guthred: The Widow's Slave. An Historical Tale. To which is added The Druid's Retreat. Jarrold and Sons, /1876/. B.M. First published in Historical Tales of Illustrious British Children.

24. The Royal Brothers. An Historical Tale. Jarrold and Sons, /1876/. B.M. First published in Historical Tales of Illustrious British Children.

25. "The Orphan of Battersea," Fifty-two Stories of Pluck, Peril, and Romance for Girls. Edited by Alfred H. Miles. Hutchison and Co., 1896.

26. Books attributed to Agnes Strickland by Una Fong-Hennessy.

The Royal Sisters. 1849.

St. Edmund, the Last King of East Anglia. 1871.

Sir Lucan Stanmore, Imineland Hall ...

Patriotic Songs. Agnes and Susanna Strickland. See Lady's Magazine, is., IV(1831), 155.

III. Books by Elizabeth Strickland.

1. Disobedience; or, Mind What Mama Says, From Occurrences in Real Life. James Woodhouse, 1819. B.M.

IV. Books by Catharine Parr Traill.

1. The Blind Highland Piper and Other Tales. Harris, 1818. M. A. Fitzgibbon, "Biographical Sketch," Pearls and Pebbles (Toronto, 1894), p.xiv.

Also published as The Tell-Tale; An Original Collection of Moral and Amusing Stories. Harris, 1823. B.M.

2. Nursery Tales. Harris, [probably 1818]. See Fitzgibbon, p.xiv.
3. Reformation; or, the Cousins. James Woodhouse, 1819. B.M.
4. Little Downy; or, the History of a Field-House, A Moral Tale. Embellished with twelve coloured engravings. Dean and Munday, 1822. B.M.

The Adventures of Little Downy; or, the History of a Field House, A Moral Tale. Dean and Munday, [1832]. Bodl. Lib.

Adventures of Little Downy, the Field House, and The Little Prisoner; or, Passion and Patience. Thomas Dean, 1844. B.M. The Little Prisoner is by Susanna. Little Downy has been attributed to her as well, but see The Osborne Collection for Mrs. Traill's list of her early books (Toronto, 1958).

Another edition. Dean and Son, [1837]. Bodl. Lib.

5. Prejudice Reproved; or, the History of the Negro Toy-Seller. Harvey and Darton, 1826. B.M. See The Osborne Collection for verification of authorship.
 6. The Young Emigrants; or, Pictures of Canada, Calculated to amuse and instruct the minds of youth. Harvey and Darton, 1826. B.M. Authorship verified in The Osborne Collection.
 7. The Little Prisoner; or, Penion and Patience; and Amendment; or, Charles Grant and His Sister. Dean and Munday, 1828. B.M. The Little Prisoner is by Susanna, Amendment by Catharine.
 8. The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not; or, Cabinet of Entertainment and Instruction. N. Hailes, 1827. B.M. Susanna mentions in a letter to Mary E. Mitford that the first series of this annual was written by Catharine. The Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford, ed. A.G. L'Estrange. 2 vols. (1882), I, 212-13.
- Evenings of Mental Recreation. N. Hailes, 1828. Another title for Juvenile Forget-Me-Not.
9. The Keeppake Quineen; or, the Best Use of Money. A. E. Newman, 1828. B.M. Authorship verified in Osborne Collection.
 10. Sketches from Nature; or, Hints to Juvenile Naturalists. Harvey and Darton, 1830. B.M. Authorship verified in Osborne Collection.
 11. Narratives of Nature, and History Book for Young Naturalists. Edward Lacey, n.d. B.M.
 12. The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America. The Library of Entertaining Knowledge. Charles Knight, 1836. B.M.

Second edition. Charles Knight, 1836.

Third edition. Charles Knight, 1838.

Fourth edition. Charles Knight, 1839.

New edition. To which is appended an account of The Oregon Territory: A Geographical and Physical Account of that Country and Its Inhabitants with Outlines of Its History and Discovery. By the Rev. C.O. Nicolay, Charles Knight, 1846, and M.A. Nattali, 1846. B.M.

Another edition. Ed. F.S. Caswell. Illustrated by Owen Staples. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1929. B.M.

Ansiedlungen in den Urwäldern von Canada. Ein Wegweiser für auswanderer nach Amerika, von einer Emigrantin. Aus dem Englischen von Dr. P. A. Wicse. Leipzig: Baumgartner, 1837. L.C.

Les Forêts Intérieures du Canada. Lettres Écrites par la Femme d'un Officier Emigrant sur la Vie Domestique des Colons Américains. Paris: L. Curmer, 1843. L.C.

13. The Canadian Crusoe. A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains. Edited by Agnes Strickland. Illustrated by Harvey. Arthur, Hall, Virtue and Co., 1852. B.M.

Second edition. Arthur, Hall, Virtue and Co., 1859. B.M.

Lost in the Backwoods. A Tale of the Canadian Forest. With thirty-two engravings. T. Nelson and Sons, 1882. B.M. There were subsequent reprints of this edition.

The Canadian Crusoe. A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains, New York: C.E. Francis and Co., 1853.

Another edition. Boston: Crosby and Ainsworth, 1866.

Another edition. Illustrated by G.A. Nelson. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923. B.M.

14. The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping. Toronto: Maclear and Co., 1854. Second thousand. 1854. Bodl. Lib.

The Canadian Settler's Guide. Toronto: Old Countryman Office, 1855.

Seventh edition - considerably enlarged. Toronto: Office of Toronto Times, 1857. Part I of this edition is Mrs. Traill's Female Emigrant's Guide. Part II consists of statistics and extracts from other books. B.M.

Tenth edition. Edward Stanford, 1860. B.M.

Another edition. Toronto: Lovell and Gibson, 1862.

15. Lady Mary and Her Nurse; or, A Poen into the Canadian Forest. With illustrations by Harvey. Arthur, Hall, Virtue and Co., 1856. B.M.

Stories of the Canadian Forest; or, Little Mary and her Nurse. Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1861. T.P.L.

Afer in the Forest; or, Pictures of Life and Scenery in the Wilds of Canada. T. Nelson and Sons, 1869. Bodl. Lib. Reissued in 1877. T.P.L.

In the Forest; or, Pictures of Life and Scenery in the Woods of Canada. A Tale. With 10 illustrations. Nelson and Sons, 1831. Eng. Cat. Reissued in 1886.

16. Canadian Wild Flowers. Painted and lithographed by Agnes Fitzgibbon, with botanical descriptions by C.P. Traill. Montreal: John Lovell, 1869. T.P.L.

Fourth edition. Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1895. B.M.

17. Studies of Plant Life in Canada; or, Gleanings from Forest, Lake and Plain. Illustrated with chromo-lithographs from drawings by Mrs. Chamberlain. Ottawa: A.S. Woodburn, 1885. B.M.

New and revised edition. Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1906. B.M.

18. Pearls and Pebbles; or, Notes of an Old Naturalist. With biographical sketch by Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon. Sampson, Low, Marston, 1894, and Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1894. B.M.

19. Cot and Cradle Stories. Ed. Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon. Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1895. B.M.

Another edition. Sampson, Low, and Marston, 1896.

V. Books by Jane Margaret Strickland.

1. Moral Lessons and Stories from the Proverbs of Solomon. With twelve engravings by S. Williams. Dean and Munday, 1820. B.M.

2. The Planter's Daughter and Her Slave. A.K. Newman, [1830].
B.M. Probably also published as Noble and the Slave.
Dean, 1835. Ing. Cat.
3. Ellen Cleveland; or, the Young Samaritan. A Tale of the Penitence. Dean and Munday, [1834]. B.M.
4. The Village Flower, or Sunday Teacher and Sunday Scholar, and Lady Mary and Her Gipsy Maid. 1838. T.P.L.
5. National Prejudice; or, the French Prisoner of War. Dean and Munday, and A.K. Newman, [1841]. B.M.
Harry Percy; or, Encourage Kindly Feelings. Dean and Son, [1855]. T.P.L.
6. Edward Evelyn; a Tale of the Rebellion of Prince Charles Edward. Joseph Cundall, 1843. B.M.
Another edition published with The Peasant's Tale by Jefferys Taylor. H. G. Bohn, 1848.
7. The Spanish Conscript and His Family. A Tale of Napoleon's Campaign in Russia. Thomas Dean, [1846]. B.M.
8. Rome, Royal and Republican. A Family History of Rome. Edited by Agnes Strickland. Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co., 1854. B.M.
9. Adonish, a Tale of the Jewish Dispersion. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., [1856]. Bodl. Lib.
10. Christmas Holidays; or, a New Way of Spending Them. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1864. B.M.
A new edition. George Routledge and Sons, n.d.
11. Blind Arthur and Other Stories. With engravings by J.A. Adams. New York: James Miller, 1860. T. R. McCloy.
12. The Orphan Captive, or Christian Endurance. A Tale of Shipwreck and Slavery or an Ambassador's Daughter. Thomas Dean and Son, [1848]. B.M. This story also appeared in Marion Lee and Other Tales, by A. H. Sargeant and Others. Dean and Son, n.d.
Another edition, together with The Changes of Life by the Rev'd J. Young. Thomas Dean and Son, 1851. T.P.L.

13. Life of Agnes Strickland. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1887. B.M.
14. Sacred Minstrelsy; or, Poetry for the Devout. Edited by J.H. Strickland. Dean and Mundy, [1834?]. Bodl. Lib.
15. Books attributed to Jane Margaret.
 - Christian Convert. Dean, 1837. Eng. Cat.
 - Examples for Young Persons. Dean, 1842. Eng. Cat.
 - Wanderer's Grave. Dean, 1833. Eng. Cat.
 - Word in Season. Dean, 1833. Eng. Cat.

VI. Samuel Strickland.

1. Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West; or, the Experiences of an Early Settler. Edited by Agnes Strickland. 2 vols. Richard Bentley, 1853. B.M.

VII. Books of Susanna Moodie.

1. Spartacus, a Roman Story. 1822. B.M. copy destroyed.
2. The Little Cuckoo; or, the Triumph of Virtue. A Tale for the Instruction of Youth. Wm. Cole, 1825. T.P.L.
Probably also published as Josiah Shirley.
3. The Little Prisoner; or, Passion and Patience; and Amendment; or, Charles Grant and His Sister. Dean and Munday, 1828. B.M. The Little Prisoner is by Susanna, Amendment by Catharine.
4. Hugh Latimer; or, the School-Boy's Friendship. A.K. Newman, 1828. B.M.
The Soldier's Orphan; or, Hugh Latimer. Dean, 1853. B.M. copy destroyed.
Les Deux Amis de Pension, ou le Fils d'un Officier de Fortune. Anecdote instructive et amusante. Traduit de l'Anglais par M. Beluge. Paris, n.d. Bib. Nat.

5. Enthusiasm; and Other Poems. Smith, Elder, and Co., 1831. B.M.
6. The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself. With a Supplement by the Editor. To which is Added the Narrative of Ass-Ann, a Captured African. Edited by Thomas Pringle. F. Westley and A.M. Davis, 1831.
7. Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Varner, A Native of St. Vincent's. Samuel Hauser, 1831.
8. Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada. 2 vols. Richard Bentley, 1852. B.M.
 New edition. Richard Bentley, 1857. B.M.
 Another edition. 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1852.
 New and revised edition. With an introductory chapter in which Canada of the present is contrasted with Canada of forty years ago. Toronto: Maclear and Co., 1871. B.M.
 Another edition. New York: Lovell, 1887. L.C.
 Another edition. Toronto: Bell and Cockburn, London and Edinburgh: T.W. Foulie, 1913. B.M.
 Another edition. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923. B.M.
 Abridged edition. Edited by F.W. Tickner. Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1932. B.M. Reissued in 1938. B.M.
 Abridged edition. Edited and introduced by C.F. Klinck. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962.
9. Life in the Clearings versus the Bush. Richard Bentley, 1853. B.M.
 Another edition. New York: John Lovell, 1837. L.C.
 Another edition, to which is added this author's Introduction to Mark Hurdlestone. Edited and introduced by Robert McDougall. Toronto: Macmillan, 1959.

10. Mark Hurdlestone, the Gold Watchman. 2 vols. Richard Bentley, 1853. B.M.

Another edition. New York: DeWitt and Davenport, 1855.

11. Flora Lyndsay; or, Passages in an Eventful Life. 2 vols. Richard Bentley, 1854. B.M.

12. Matrimonial Speculations. Richard Bentley, 1854. B.M.

13. The Monctons: A Novel. 2 vols. Richard Bentley, 1854. B.M.

Geoffrey Moncton; or, the Faithless Guardian. New York: De Witt and Davenport, 1855. L.C.

Another edition. New York: John Lovell, 1837. L.C.

14. Happy Because Good; The True Penitent; and The Blind Brother and Kind Sister. Thomas Dean and Son, 1859. Univ. of Lon. Lib.

15. The World Before Them: A Novel. 3 vols. Richard Bentley, 1868. B.M. Probably also published as Dorothy Chance.

16. George Lentrin; or, the Mother's Test. Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant, 1875. Bodl. Lib.

17. Books attributed to Susanna Moodie.

Profession and Principle. Dean, 1833. Eng. Cat.

Rowland Massingham; the Boy that Would be His Own Master. Dean, 1837. Eng. Cat.

The Little Black Pony and Other Stories. Philadelphia: Collins, 1850. Bibliotheca Canadensis (Ottawa, 1867).

Present and Practice; or, the Vicar's Tales. Bibliotheca Canadensis.

Something More About the Soldier's Orphan. B.M. catalogue.

Patriotic Songs. Agnes and Susanna Strickland. See Lady's Magazine, i.s., IV(1831), 155.

VIII. Contributions to periodicals and annuals.
The (P) indicates prose, and the (V), verse.

1. Ackermann's Juvenile Forget Me Not.

Susanna(1830), (P) 241-61; (1831), (V)31, (P)97-115.

2. Albion (New York).

Catharine (1835), (V)81.

Susanna(1835), (V)17, (V)25.

3. Amulet: or, Christian and Literary Remembrancer.

Agnes(1829), (V)272-3, (V)343- 5.

4. Anglo-American Magazine (Toronto).

Catharine, I(1852), (P)318-20, (P)353-4, (P)417-20,
(P)513-18, (P)545-49; II(1853), (P)33-9, (P)182-4,
(P)426-30, (P)603-10; III(1853), (P)82-3, (P)83-5,
(P)276-8, (P)401-4, (P)493-8; VI(1855), (V)200.

All except one of these prose sketches are "Forest
Gleanings", a series of descriptions and anecdotes of
backwoods life. Some of them also appeared in Chamber's
Edinburgh Journal and Sherne's London Journal.

5. Anniversary.

Agnes(1829), (V)

6. Bentley's Miscellany.

Susanna, XXXII(1852), (P)143-52, (V)192; XXXIII(1853),
(P)318-24; XXXIV(1853), (P)299-303, (P)410-16; XXXV(1854),
(P)393-99. The 1852 and the first 1853 prose piece are
Canadian in content. The others are anecdotes of
practical jokes.

7. Birth-Day Gift: A Christmas and New Year's Present.

Agnes (n.d.), (P)1-21.

8. Canadian Literary Magazine.

Susanna (1833), (V)44, (P)45-9, (V)56, (V)82, (V)108-9, (V)109-10.

9. Canadian Magazine.

Susanna (1833), (V)278.

10. Chamber's Edinburgh Journal.

Agnes, VI(1837), (P)313-4., VII(1838), (P)42-4, (P)83-4, (P)145-7, (P)209-11, (P)338-9; VIII(1839), (P)98-100, (P)245-7. Five of these "Scenes and Stories of Village Life" appeared in Old Friends and New Acquaintances, they are in the tradition of M.R. Mitford's Our Village.

Catharine, V(1836), (P)38-9; VII(1838), (P)322-3, (P)380-1; ~~VIII(1839), (P)~~, XII(1843), (P)79. Sketches of backwoods life.

11. Churchman's Family Magazine.

Agnes and Eliza, II(1863), (P)1-12, (P)97-111, (P)198-206, (P) 296-300, (P)506-11; III(1864), (P)48-60; IV(1864), (P)97-107, (P)347-67, (P)497-505. A series of biographical sketches of the seven Bishops whom James II sent to the Tower in 1688.

12. Comic Offering; or Ladies Melange of Literary Mirth.

Agnes (1832), (V)241-5; (1833), (V)200-1; (1834), (P)155-71.

Susanna (1832), (P)118-23.

13. Court Journal.

Agnes (Sept. 14, 1833), (V)629.

14. Court Magazine and Monthly Critic. See Lady's Magazine.15. Emanuel; A Christian Tribute of Affection and Duty.

Agnes (1830), (V)24-5, (V)43-6, (V)74-6, (P)158-80.

Jane Margaret (1830), (P)298-309.

Susanna (1830), (V)211-12.

16. Fisher's Juvenile Scrap-Book.

Agnes was co-editor of this annual with Bernard Barton for the years 1837-38-39. I have seen the 1838 and 39 volumes, but the contributions are unsigned. I have listed those which, in content and style, resemble other Strickland works. The 1849 volume was edited by Jane Margaret; the contributions are signed.

Agnes ?(1838), (P)10-26, (P)30-40, (V)41-2, (P)43-60, (V)72-6, (V)80-3; ?(1839), (V)7-20, (V)30-1, (P)42-54, (P)58-76, (P)80-100; (1849), (V)5-6, (P)7-19, (V)20, (V)42-3, (P)44-56, (V)81-2, (V)94-5.

Jane Margaret (1849), (P)21-41, (P)58-80, (P)83-93, (P) 96-104.

17. Forget Me Not; A Christmas and New Year's Present.

Agnes (1829), (V)178-9, (V)283-4; (1835), (P)129-42; (1841), (P)337-53; (1844), (V)273-5. The 1835 prose piece is another sketch of village life and it was included in the 1st series of Old Friends.

Susanna (1829), (V)369; (1831), (V)144.

18. Friendship's Offerings: A Literary Album, and Christmas and New Year's Present.

Agnes (1827), (V)330-31; (1836), (V)327-9; (1837), (P)111-32; (1838), (P)184-206; (1839), (P)325-46; (1840), (P)157-80; (1841), (P)219-46. The prose pieces are historical tales emphasizing the importance of women in history.

Susanna (1829), (V)148-9; (1831), (V)184-6; (1834), (V) 96. The 1834 item is "A Canadian Song"; the others are included in Enthusiasm.

19. Gen, A Literary Annual.

Agnes (1832), (V)120-21, (V)141-3, (P)148-63,

Susanna (1832), (P)34-48.

20. Harper's New Monthly Magazine.

Agnes, II(Dec.1850-May, 1851), (P)10-18, (P)22-5, (P)226-31. Historical tales.

21. Home Circle

Agnes, I(1849), (P)1-3, (V)78, (P)88, (P)131-34, (P)155-7, (P)165-7, (P)226-8; II(1850), (V)104.

Catharine, I(1849), (P)6-7, (V)19, (P)33-5. The prose pieces are Canadian sketches.

Jane Margaret, I(1849), (P)65-68, 81-3, 100-2, 115-18, 131-4; 155-7, 165-7, (P)313-15, 322-3; II(1850), (P)2-6, (P)136-8, 148-50, (P)248-50, 258-60; IV(1851), (P)177-80; V(1851), (P)321-4; VI(1852), (P)312-15; VII(1852), (P)72-5, (P)161-4; VIII(1853), (P)297-9, 306-8. Jane's contributions are historical romances.

Susanna, VIII(1853), (P)5-7. This sketch, "Jeanie Burns," is included in Life in the Clearings.

22. Iris: A Literary and Religious Offering.

Agnes (1830), (P)13-37, (P)95-104, (V)323-5. Religious themes.

Susanna (1830), (V)153-57; (1831), (V)170-4. Items included in Enthusiasm.

23. Juvenile Forget Me Not.

Agnes (1829), (V)19, (V)142.

Catharine (1829), (P)145-60.

Susanna (1831), (V)104, (V)145-6.

In 1827 this annual was written by Catharine Parr, according to Susanna. See The Friendships of Mary Russell Mitford, edited by the Rev. A.G. L'Estrange. 2 vols. (1882), pp.212-13. The items in the 1827 volume are unsigned; the emphasis is on natural history. Mrs. S.C. Hall became the editor in 1829 and held the post until 1837. Most of the items in these volumes are signed.

24. Juvenile Keensake.

Agnes (1829), (V)94-6.

25. Keensake.

Agnes (1829), ?(P)267-83; (1833), (V)82-3, (V)230;
(1834), (V) Sonnet; (1835), (P)44-66, (V)225-8;
(1838), (V)156-8.

26. La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine.

Agnes, new series, XIV(1831), (V)257-8.

Susanna, new series, V(1827), (V)163, (V)221; new series, VI(1827), (P)15-19, (V)26, (V)27, (V)71, (P)109-14, (V)121, (V)165, (V)215, (P)247-51, ?(V)256; new series, VII(1828), (V)27, (P)51-5, (V)119, (V)211; new series, VIII(1828), (V)119, (V)164-5, (V)264; new series, IX(1829), (P)21-4, (V)32, (V)74, (V)75, (V)163, (V)265; new series, X(1829), (P)53-58, (P)107-13, (V)70, (V)165, (V)268-9. Most of these verses were later published in Susanna's Enthusiasm (1831) and in the Literary Garland in Canada. The prose items constitute a series of "Sketches from the Country" in the Mary Russell Mitford tradition.

27. Lady's Magazine, or Mirror of the Belles Lettres, Fashions, Fine Arts, Music, Drama, etc.

Because the popularity of a series of biographical sketches which appeared in this magazine gave rise to the idea of preparing a series of full-scale biographies and because the sketches are unsigned, I have decided to include a list of the sketches of queens and princesses up to the end of 1837 in an appendix.

Agnes, XI(1830), (P)1-5, (V)19, (V)34, (V)74, (P)113-18; new series, I(1830), (P)169-73, (V)173, (P)229-36, (P)322-24; new series, II(1830), (V)83, (P)124-30, (P)182-89, (V)193, (P)277-81; improved series, III(1831), (V)32, (V)119, (V)194, (V)248, (V)311; improved series, IV(1831), (P)27-31, (P)72-5, (V)84, (V)90, (V)140-1, (V)246; improved series, V(1832), (V)30, (V)64-6; improved series and enlarged, I(1832), (V)117; improved series and enlarged, II(1833), (P)139-44, (V)159; improved series and enlarged, IV(1834), (P)6-14⁺, (V)97, (P)206-17⁺;

improved series and enlarged, V(1834), (P)368-73⁺; improved series and enlarged, VI(1835), (P)150-61⁺, (V)161, (V)256; improved series and enlarged, VII(1836), (V)95-6, (P)103-17⁺, (P)160-67⁺; improved series and enlarged, IX(1836), (P)29-38⁺, (P)84-97⁺, (P)148-61⁺, (P)326-32; improved series and enlarged, X(1837), (V)54, (V)146, (V)170; improved series and enlarged, XI(1837), (P)45-56⁺, (P)105-21⁺, (P)167-83⁺, (P)261-74⁺, (V)274;

Court Magazine and Monthly Critic, and the Lady's Magazine and Museum.

Agnes

United series, I(1838), (P)96-103; united series, II(1838), (P)1-33⁺, (P)392-406, (P)460-85, (V)501.

Lady's Magazine

Eliza, improved series, II(1830), (P)86-8; improved series, III(1831), (P)194-5, (P)195-9, (P)257-9, (P)341-4, ?(P)375-7; improved series, IV(1831), (P)31-5, ?(P)155, (P)205-7; improved series, V(1832), (P)198-204; improved series and enlarged, I(1832), (P)70-2; improved series and enlarged, II(1833), (P)72-6; improved series and enlarged, IV(1834), (P)161-6, (P)344-9; improved series and enlarged, X(1837), (P)315-20;

Court Magazine and Monthly Critic.

Eliza

VI(1840), (P)150-4.

Eliza also undoubtedly wrote some of the biographical sketches listed in Appendix I. Except for two tales about 14th century Italy and three reviews, the above prose pieces are "Biographies of Flowers."

Lady's Magazine

Susanna, new series, II(1830), (V)238-40, (V)295-6; improved series, III(1831), (V)1, (P)62-6, (V)71, (V)80, (V)120, (V)191-2; improved series, IV(1831), (V)26-7; improved series, V(1832), (V)187-8, (V)245-6; improved series and enlarged, III(1833), (P)247-57; improved series and enlarged, IV(1834), (V)17-18, (V)71; improved series and enlarged, IX(1836), (P)241-3; improved series and enlarged, X(1837), (V)53-4, (V)79; improved series and enlarged, II(1833), (V)76.

Most of the above verses were published in Enthusiasm. Many of the items also appeared in the Literary Garland (1838-51).

+ "Tales of the English Chronicles!" These tales about the Wars of the Roses and the Civil War attempt to reveal the importance of women in significant historical events. Several of the other prose pieces are sketches of country life. Four of them appeared in Old Friends and New Acquaintances.

(P)395-404, (P)443-52, (P)491-500, (P)539-59, (V)133, (V)135, (V)138-9, (V)519; new series, VII(1849), (V)93, (V)214; new series, VIII(1850), (V)88, (V)119, (V)201-2; new series, IX(1851), (P)49-55, (P)97-104, (P)170-7, (P)228-35, (P)258-62, (P)308-14, (P)348-51, (P)396-406, (P)444-9, (P)481-93, (P)529-36, (P)540-4.

Many of Mrs. Moodie's contributions to the Garland appeared elsewhere. Most of the verses are to be found in Enthusiasm, Roughing It in the Bush, and Life in the Clearings. Some sketches from the latter books first appeared in the Garland. Both Geoffrey Moncton and Mark Hurdlestone, and portions of Matrimonial Speculations and Flora Lyndsay were published in the Garland in serial form. There is a published Index to the Literary Garland (Bibliographical Society of Canada, Toronto), compiled by Mary Mackham Brown.

30. Literary Souvenir, or, Cabinet of Poetry and Romance.

Agnes (1833), (V)302-4.

31. MacMillan's Magazine.

Agnes, VII(1862-63), (P)134-44.

32. Maple Leaf.

Agnes, I(1853), (V)30.

Catharine, I(1853), (P)1-10, (P)33-39, (P)84-91, (P)113-20, (P)146-51, (P)172-6;
II(1853), (P)24-6, (P)152-3, (P)166-71;
III(1854), (P)12-16, (P)44-52, (P)71-5, (P)111-17, (P)232-37.

Several of these prose items by Mrs. Traill formed a part of Lady Mary and Her Nurse (1856). One also appeared originally in Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.

33. Metropolitan Magazine.

Susanna, LII(1843), (V)262-65. A poem entitled "Canada."

34. New Monthly Magazine

Agnes, II(1821), ?(V)313; IV(1822), ?(V)231, ?(V)246;
 VII, pt. 1(1823), ?(V)391, ?(V)415, ?(V)451, ?(V)528;
 VIII, pt.1(1823), ?(V)224; VIII, pt.11(1823), ?(V)31,
 (V)316, (V)340; X, pt.1(1824), (V)110, (V)222, (V)417;
 XI, pt.11(1824), (V)316, (V)351, (V)480; XIII, pt.1(1825),
 (V)272; LXX, pt.1(1844), (P)41-62, (V)445-6;
 LXXI, pt.11(1845), (P)218-26.

Agnes's translations of Italian sonnets appeared in the New Monthly Magazine. The earlier items, with the question marks, are unsigned, but it seems probable that they belong with the series signed "A.S." which appeared from late 1823 through 1824. Some of these sonnets and the other verses were included in Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies (1850).

35. New Year's Gift and Juvenile Souvenir.

Agnes (1830), (P)114-27, (P)232-40;
 (1831), (P)94-110; (1836), (V)198-9.

Catharine (1832), (P)207-16.

36. Papers Relating to Suffolk. B.M. 10351 i 24.

Agnes (V) f.104, (V) f.139, (V) f.162.

37. Pic-Nic Papers, edited by Charles Dickens.

Agnes, I(1841), (P)33-53, (P)308-23. One historical tale and one sketch of Suffolk life.

38. Pledge of Friendship.

Susanna (1823), (V)356-59.

39. Sharpe's London Journal.

Catharine, VII(1848), (P)114-18; X(1849), (P)107-10,
 (P)137-42, (P)274-77, (P)335-40; XII(1850), (P)129-34;
 XIII(1851), (P)90-93; XV(1852), (P)22-6, (P)279-81.
 A series of sketches and tales of backwoods life.

40. The Times.

Agnes (Sept. 1, 1846), 6; (Jan. 2, 1864), 11.
Letters to the editor concerning Lord Campbell's
Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Froude's History
respectively.

41. United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal.

Agnes (1842), (V)424.

42. Victoria Magazine (Belleville).

Agnes, I(1847-48), (V)17, (V)63-4, (V)87-8, (V)100,
(V)169-70, (V)211, (P)217-22, (P)241-5, (P)271-3.

Catharine, I(1847-48), (V)107, (P)183-90.

Susanna, I(1847-48), (V)3, (V)4-10, (P)12-13, (P)15-17,
(V)17, (P)27-31, (V)36, (P)54-8, (P)65-8, (P)77-82,
(V)88-9, (P)89-92, (V)112, (P)113-15, (P)126-8,
(P)139-41, (P)151-4, (P)177-81, (V)181, (V)181-2,
(V)223, (P)156-9, (P)183-7, (P)212-14, (P)234-7,
(P)250-2, (P)253-6, (P)265-8, (P)283-6.

Mrs. Moodie's contributions include sketches of
Suffolk and Canadian life, historical tales, autobiographical
fiction, and an Oriental tale. She and her husband wrote
reviews and a regular column entitled "Editor's Table."

IV Manuscript Letters

1. G. Bell and Sons Ltd. Nine letters, two by Agnes and seven by Eliza, concerning the Bell and Daldy edition of the Queen of England (1864).

2. Bodleian Library.

MS. Pigott d.8, ff.276-81. Eliza to Miss H. Pigott.
MS. English letters c.199, ff.151-4. Agnes to Miss Stuart and the editor of the Morning Herald.

3. British Museum.

Add. MS. 33,964, f.333. Agnes to R. Ackermann.
Add. MS. 46,640, f.134. Bentley Papers.
Add. MS. 46,641, ff.222, 227, 283, 300, 327, 351, 370.
Bentley Papers.
Add. MS. 46,642, ff.37, 61, 112, 131, 132. Bentley Papers.
Add. MS. 46,653, ff.260-63. Bentley Papers.
Add. MS. 46,654, ff.8-15. " "
Add. MS. 46,657, f.205. " "
Add. MS. 46,676, f.11. " "
Eg. MS. 2848, ff.133-43. Eliza to Sir Frederick Madden.

4. Edinburgh University Library. Thirty-three letters by Agnes and Eliza to J. O. Wallivell-Phillipps. Microfilm used.
5. Gloucestershire Records Office. MS. D.1245, f.12. Strickland Records.
6. Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office. MS. 396. A volume of letters to Agnes Strickland, drawings, and autographs.
7. John Rylands Library. Eng. MS. 355, f.204. Agnes to B. Burke.
8. Lincolnshire Archives Office.

T. d'E. II.1, ff.54-9. Tennyson d'Fyncourt Correspondence.
T. d'E. II.40, f.52. " " "

9. Longmans, Green and Co. Commission Ledger 17. Five letters concerning Mrs. Traill and the copyright of the Queen of England.

10. National Library of Scotland.

MS. 584, f.925.	Miscellaneous letters by Agnes		
MS. 966, ff.333-9.	"	"	"
MS. 967, f.97.	"	"	"
MS. 980, f.87, 103, 114, 209, 211.	"	"	"
MS. 2354, f.207.	"	"	"
MS. 2390, f.182.	"	"	"
MS. 3219, f.82.	"	"	"
MS. 3446, f.181.	"	"	"
MS. 3719, f.52.	"	"	"
MS. 3922, ff.136-42.	"	"	"
MS. 3925, f.113.	"	"	"
MS. 4083, f.253.	Blackwood Correspondence.		
MS. 4091, ff.175-85.	"	"	"
MS. 4095, ff.224-81.	"	"	"
MS. 4100, ff.63-123.	"	"	"
MS. 4103, ff.141-68.	"	"	"
MS. 4107, ff.62-85.	"	"	"
MS. 4112, f.149.	"	"	"
MS. 4120, ff.104-46.	"	"	"
MS. 4126, ff.176-202.	"	"	"
MS. 4133, ff.141-82.	"	"	"
MS. 4143, ff.205-41.	"	"	"
MS. 4154, ff.145-54.	"	"	"
MS. 4164, ff.235-43.	"	"	"
MS. 4174, ff.216-18.	"	"	"
MS. 4186, ff.23-41.	"	"	"
MS. 4193, ff.252-62.	"	"	"
MS. 4204, ff.271-84.	"	"	"
MS. 4215, ff.228-30.	"	"	"
MS. 4226, ff.158-160.	"	"	"
MS. 4240, ff.249-51.	"	"	"
MS. 4253, f.246.	"	"	"
MS. 4282, f.244.	"	"	"
MS. 4297, ff.190-2.	"	"	"
MS. 4465, ff.31-7.	"	"	"
MS. 4478, f.225.	"	"	"
MS. 4493, ff.50-64.	"	"	"
MS. 4509, ff.185-97.	"	"	"
MS. 4526, ff.87-93.	"	"	"
MS. 4727, ff.145-259.	"	"	"
MS. 4878, ff.7-21.	"	"	"
MS. 4896, ff.197, 207.	"	"	"
MS. 5509, ff.123, 156.	"	"	"

11. Pope-Hennessy, James. Mary Stuart Album. Letters to Agnes about her work on Mary Stuart, drawings, and information on the Queen.
 12. Toronto Public Reference Library. Osborne Collection of Children's Books. Eight letters by Susanna, Jane, Agnes, and Eliza.
 13. University of Illinois, Urbana. Bentley Papers. Six letters by Eliza, four by Agnes, and one by Jane Margaret, including outlines for a biographical series.
- I. Manuscript poems and tales.
1. Bodleian Library. MS. Montague d.5, f.248, Poem by Agnes.
 2. National Library of Scotland.
 MS. 584, f.1011. "The Princess Elizabeth in Carisbrook Castle," by Agnes.
 MS. 967, f.187. Poem by Eliza.
 MS. 4877, "The Queens Tragedy. An Historical Poem in Five Acts." 187 pages.
 MS. 4878, ff.1, 2. Poems by Agnes.
 3. Public Archives of Canada. Items by Mrs. Hoodie. "The British Queen," poem, 3pp., "The Nautical Philosophers," poem, 4pp., "The Well in the Wilderness," prose, 16pp., "Education the True Wealth of the World," prose, 12pp., "To Absent Friends," poem, 2pp.

PART TWO: SECONDARY SOURCES

I. Books, chapters of books, and articles about members of the Strickland family.

Allibone, L. Austin. Critical Dictionary of English Literature. 3 vols. Philadelphia and London, 1859-71, Susanna, 11, p.1349; Agnes, 11, pp.2284-5., Catharine, 111, p.2444.

British Authors of the Nineteenth Century. Ed. S.J. Kunitz and H. Haycraft. New York: H.W. Wilson, Susanna, p.445., Agnes, p.595., Catharine, p.625.

Burpsee, Lawrence J. "The Last of the Stricklands" (Catharine Parr Traill), Sevanee Review, VIII(1900), 207-17. Included in A Little Book of Canadian Fanny. Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1909.

Canadian Men and Women of the Time. Ed. Henry J. Morgan. 2nd edition. Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1912, Catharine, pp.1017-18.

Canadian Writers/Écrivains Canadiens. Ed. G. Sylvester, B. Conron, C.F. Klinck. Toronto: Ryerson, 1964, Susanna pp.99-100., Catharine, p.134.

Cooper, Ernest, R. "Agnes Strickland, Historian of Queens," Chambers's Journal (February, 1945), 77-9.

Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography. Toronto: Roca, 1888, Susanna, ser. 11, pp.710-11.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, by W. Stewart Wallace. 2nd ed., 2 vols. Toronto: Macmillan, 1945, Susanna, 11, p.464., Samuel, 11, p.641., Catharine, 11, p.670.

Dictionary of National Biography, Susanna Moodie, XIII, p.777., Agnes, Jane, and Samuel Strickland, XIX, pp. 48-50.

Ellis, Stewart M. "Agnes Strickland," The Bookman, LVI(1919) 9-12.

Ellis, Stewart M. "Agnes Strickland," Mainly Victorian. Hutchinson, 1925, pp.152-58. Same article as the one preceding.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. Eleventh edition, Agnes Strickland, XXV, pt. 2, p.1023.

Fitzgibbon, Mary Agnes. "Biographical Sketch" (Catharine),
Pearle and Pebbles, Toronto: Briggs, 1894.

Foster, P. "Agnes Strickland and the Southwold Neighbourhood,"
The Story of Southwold. Ed. M. Janet Becker. Southwold:
P. Jenkins, 1948, pp.143-46.

Green-Armytage, A.J. "Agnes Strickland," Heids of Honour.
Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1906, pp.303-46.

Guillet, Edwin C. "Canadian Literary Pioneers." Typescript,
Toronto Public Reference Library.

Hale, Sarah J. Women's Record. New York, 1853, Agnes
pp.798-800.

Hobman, Daisy L. "Victorian Muses," Hibbert Journal, XLVIII.
(1950), 173-6. It includes Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland,
and Lucy Aiken.

Hume, Blanche. The Strickland Sisters: Catharine Parr Traill
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other than what can be gleaned from Jane Margaret's Life of
Agnes Strickland, Pearle and Pebbles, and The Backwoods of
Canada. Chapter II, "Mrs. Traill's Writings in Canada,"
is an outline of the content of books and articles by her.
"Influences on Mrs. Traill's Writings," the third chapter,
contains comments on aspects of her early life which
affected her later career, and a brief discussion of books,
chiefly botanical reference texts, to which she had access
in Canada. The fourth chapter is an account of "Mrs.
Traill's Reputation" which includes many excerpts from books
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